

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY

(Continuation of *Eastern Churches Number of "Pax,"*
founded 1931.)

VOL. II.

OCTOBER, 1937.

No. 4

THE GREAT CURRENTS OF EASTERN SPIRITUALITY

(continued).

IV.

THE SCHOOL OF SENTIMENT OR OF SUPERNATURAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

MYSTICAL intellectualism definitely condemned both apparitions and sensible locutions.¹ Though it invented the theory of spiritual senses,² all its partisans would have highly approved of Diadochus' warning: "Let no one, on hearing of the intellect's awareness, dare hope that the glory of God will appear visibly to him."³ A similar recommendation was given in the "De Oratione" of Nilus, or rather of Evagrius—again by Philoxenus of Mabbogh⁴ and by the Hesychasts. According to them, visions of angels and even of Christ, could only bring about madness (ecstasis), even suicide—in any case, illusion.⁵ Diadochus refuted the Messalians in the last twenty chapters of his work. Their heresy could be called "mystical materialism."⁶ Its distant sources, discernible in Macarius, can be traced to the Stoics. But, as a matter of fact, those lower forms of mysticism have reappeared throughout the ages on the favourable ground of popular devotion, as if by a sort of

¹ "Nilus"—*De Oratione*, capp. 114 seq.

² K. Rahner, loc. cit., pp. 113—145.

³ *De perfectione spirituali*, ed. Weis-Liebersdorf, cap. 36.

⁴ *Lettre à Patrice d'Edesse*, unpublished, Vaticanus syriacus 125; vide Mgr. Rahmani, *Studia Syriaca* fasc. IV, p. 70—73, and *Patrologia Syriaca* III, p. CCIH—CCXI.

⁵ Philoxenus of Mabbogh, loc. cit.; Vide *La Méthode d'Oraison Hésychaste* (Orientalia Christiana IX, No. 36), p. 151—154.

⁶ J. Stoffels, *Die Mystische Theologie Makarius des Aegypters, und die ältesten Ansätze christlicher Mystik*, Bonn 1908, does note this materialism, though he has not noticed the Messalian affinities of Macarius.

spontaneous generation. And truly, the piety of simple folks is in the right—against the intellectualism of the learned—in maintaining the possibility of apparitions and, generally speaking, of an experimental perception of the supernatural. Still, how difficult it is to avoid illusion and its results. To come back to Diadochus, he too admitted sensible phenomena of supernatural origin; he even gave criteria to be used in dealing with them.¹ But so nice did the use of these discriminating rules seem to him that in practice he advised entire rejection of visions and external locutions. There was then left intimate realization—αἴσθησις or πείρα—or, at its most intense πληροφορία. This opponent of Messalianism was for ever talking—and sometimes in the Messalians' very words²—of such a conscious realization of the supernatural within. That is why Diadochus was sometimes misunderstood later on. However, he could hardly be ranked amongst pure intellectualist mystics. Rather was he half way between Evagrius and Macarius. With the latter, we find ourselves entirely in a mysticism of supernatural consciousness. Man was no longer considered as an intellect before all else, nor yet as, above all, a will. He was taken to be a psychological consciousness, an apt perception grasping all interior reality, including grace—so much so that the word “grace” was used indifferently by this School for the supernatural entity, or the awareness which we necessarily have of it.³ Some authors went so far as to assert emphatically that should one cease feeling the action of the Holy Spirit, one would then no longer have the Holy Spirit. Thus said an unknown Hieronymus Graecus: “What makes you a Christian?—My belief in Christ, the Son of God.—Your answer is stupid. . . . Did you become a Christian of your own free will, or without willing it?—If I say that I willed it, I lie; if I say that it was without my will's consent, I fail to be truthful; I was an infant: I neither resisted nor consented.—and after all, how do you know that you were baptised?”⁴ And Jerome clearly explained that the assurance of being a Christian comes from the awareness which we have of the Holy Spirit living and acting in us.

¹ Diadochus, ubi supra, capp. 37—39.

² Vide G. Horn, *Sens de l'Esprit d'après Diadoque de Photicé—Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 1927, pp. 402—419. Fr. Horn comments very relevantly on Diadochus' expression ἐν πάσῃ αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ, but he has not realized that it is the identical expression which St. John Damascene objected to in the Messalians; *De Haeresibus*, No. 80, PG. 94, 729 B. Proposition 7.

³ Diadochus corrects this mistake by the theory of παιδευτικὴ παραχώρησις. Cap. 86, 87.

⁴ PG. 40, 860—865.

"As a pregnant woman feels the movements of the child in her womb, so we know that the Spirit of God dwells in us by the joy, happiness and exultation felt in our hearts. . . ." And that perception was taken to be infallible. This is very akin to Messalianism. We should now allude to Symeon the New Theologian, one of the greatest of the Byzantine mystics. His biographer tells us that in his youth he read Diadochus, the theorist of "sentiment."¹ But he understood him in his own way, influenced by his spiritual father, who was a simple-minded holy man. Did he also read Jerome the Greek? At all events, he reverted to the comparison of the pregnant woman,² and built up a whole theological system on the necessity of supernatural consciousness. The last perfectly logical conclusion was the denial of all spiritual jurisdiction to any who had no experience of mystical raptures revealing the presence of the Holy Spirit.³ The vision of God was also made to be imaginative; the entirely intellectual divine light of Evagrius tended towards materialization; prayer—*δμιλία νοῦ πρὸς θεόν* with Nilus,⁴ became a dialogue with the Divine speaker, who answered the seer's questions verbally.⁵ We should not then be deceived by Symeon's vocabulary often borrowed from the Intellectualist School. He was the most famous representative of that School which we have called "of Sentiment or Supernatural Consciousness." Such a doctrine was only found amongst Messalians in its unadulterated state; but many writers held to it in varying degrees, including some who were quite orthodox, such as Diadochus.

Μαρτύριον τῆς ὑποταχῆς.

Not many years ago, Wilhelm Bousset discovered that Evagrius Ponticus had belonged to St. Basil's monastic community before becoming the mystical philosopher we have been dealing with.⁶ One day he fled and himself admitted that the cause of his flight was his love for holy dogmas and speculations about them. Basilian discipline no longer satisfied his mind. And this we can easily understand. Not long ago, a volume was written on the spiritual teaching of St. Basil

¹ *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, ed. I. Hausherr, Rome 1928. (Orientalia Christiana, Vol. XII), p. 6.

² *Ibid.* Introduction, p. LXXIV.

³ *Ibid.*, p. LXXVI, and K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum. Eine Studie zu Symeon dem Neuen Theologen*. Leipzig 1898, pp. 110—127.

⁴ *De Oratione*, cap. 3.

⁵ Vide Symeon's Speech, published in *La Méthode d'Oraison hésychaste*, u bi supra, p. 192—194.

⁶ W. Bousset, *Apophthegmata*, Tübingen 1923, p. 336.

of Caesaria¹ and the author has arrogated the right to expound it according to the Dionysian division of the three ways, purgative, illuminative and unitive. The theologian is doubtless free to follow his own methods, but what, among other things, makes this arrangement suspect from the historical point of view, is the fact that the author has found abundant material for the first way, much less for the second and surprisingly little for the third. K. Holl had already endeavoured—for the needs of a bad cause—to make of St. Basil a doctor of enthusiasm, *i.e.* of mysticism.² A reading of this work convinces one of the opposite. The great organiser of Eastern monachism was, and remains, the preacher of salvation through practical virtues. Those "Apophthegma" of the Fathers, which were the daily food of all generations of monks, agree with him on this point, at least taken as a whole. Εἰπέ μοι ῥῆμα πῶς σωθῶ is the everlasting question of the solitaries of Egypt and St. Basil repeated it by writing as a heading for his first ascetical sermon: "The ascetical life has only one aim, the salvation of the soul."³ The means? Self-abnegation specially by obedience and brotherly love. And because anchoretical life gives few occasions for practising these two virtues, Basil preferred the cenobitical to the eremetical life, though the latter is more favourable to contemplation.

The Origenist quarrel was not only a strife between two theologies, but also between two spiritual schools. Intellectualist mysticism could but feel the effect of the combination of Origen and Evagrius. Doubtless, St. Maximus was able to sift Evagrius' teaching so as to keep its pure components; but others were less tolerant. Already the Paralipomena Pachomina declared that whoever read Origen went to hell.⁵ And Palladius himself recalled a hermit's remark to the great Evagrius: "Those who follow your teaching go astray."⁶

¹ P. Humbertclaude, *La Doctrine ascétique de St. Basile de Césarée*, Paris, 1932. This book is nevertheless very useful; it definitely vindicates the authenticity of *Commentarius in Isaiam*, fixes the meaning of *πρεσβύτεροι* and the doctrinal exposition is exact in details. But by its structure it gives the false impression that St. Basil was one of the partisans of a contemplative spirituality as understood by Dionysius. Now he was not that, even as understood by St. Maximus and St. John Climachus.

² K. Holl, *loc. cit.*, pp. 162—166.

³ PG. 31, 881, B; if this discourse is not held to be authentic, which still has to be proved, all must at least admit that the necessity of salvation by obedience to the Commandments sums up the *De Judicio Dei*, preface of the *Moralia*. Vide *Reg. Fus. Prooemium* (PG. 31, 889, A). *ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ βίου . . , καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐδηλοὶ ἐστε μαθεῖν τι τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπιποθοῦντες.*

⁴ Vide M. Villers, *loc. cit.*

⁵ F. Halkin, *S. Pachonii Vitae graecae*, Brussels 1932, p. 131; *Vita altera*, p. 195; *Vita Tertia*, pp. 281 and 307; *Vita Quarta*, p. 435.

⁶ *Histoire Lausique* 21, 1.

But it was in the sixth Century that spirituality came to a decisive turning. One name—that of St. Barsanuphius—should be inscribed at the crossroad. This utter anti-Origenist was a great director of souls. His letters, which have been kept and published in a very rare edition,¹ show us in what way his influence was exerted. One of his disciples wanted to read Evagrius: “Mind you do no such thing,” answered the austere abbot. Eventually he gave in as regards the ascetical writings, whilst still firmly excluding the more mystical.² Byzantine copyists seem to have respected this injunction: the Practicos, a short exhortation to a virgin, and another to some cenobites have been preserved in Greek; the Centuries and the Gnosis, the Letters, were all forgotten and lost. The Syrians retrieved them and continued to enjoy them up to the time of Bar Hebraeus.³ Now at Barsanuphius’ school, there was then a young monk, St. Dorotheus,⁴ destined to become one of the most classical of Eastern spiritual writers. During the following centuries, there was no more highly reputed work than his Instructions,⁵ specially after St. Theodore the Studite had definitely adopted his ideas and upheld him even in his Testament. If the great hegumenos of the greatest monastery of Constantinople showed such a partiality for Dorotheus it was because he found that his teaching agreed completely with that of St. Basil, the master of masters. And there he was right. Holiness, for St. Dorotheus, as for St. Basil and St. Theodore the Studite, consisted above all in utter renunciation of self-will. That is why the life of the little St. Dorotheus⁶—as in more recent times that of St. John Berchmans—offer us the sight of high perfection acquired in a short time by guileless submission to superiors, with no semblance of mystical gifts. That is why

¹ Prepared by Nicodemus the Hagiorite and published after his death, Venice, 1816.

² Ibid. *Lettres* 606—610. These are the Letters which have been published in a separate pamphlet, PG. 86, 891—902.

³ The new book of A. Mingana, *Woodbrooke Studies VII, Early Christian Mystics*, Cambridge, 1934, brings us new proofs of the exceptional popularity of Evagrius with the Syrians. We already knew that he was the master for Isaac of Ninive and Bar Hebraeus. We now read that Simon of Taibuthéh recommended his “Canons of Prayer” (—the “De Oratione” of Nilus). Dadiso Katraya refers constantly to him as the greatest of the Gnostics; Abdiso Hazzaya quotes his Centuries.

⁴ On the relations between Dorotheus and John the Prophet, the alter ego of Barsanuphius, vide the article of P. S. Vailhé, *Les Lettres Spirituelles de Jean et de Barsanuphe, Echos d'Orient*, VII, p. 271 et seq.

⁵ On the propagation of St. Dorotheus’ Instructions, l’Abbé P. M. Brun will no doubt publish some day the data which he has patiently collected. The Testament of St. Theodore Studite is in PG. 99, 1815 BC.

⁶ New edition with French translation by P. M. Burn, in *Orientalia Christiana* XXVI (1932), pp. 89—123.

Theodore was always striving against his monks' obsession for a solitary life. Formerly, martyrdom had been considered the highest perfection; nothing was changed, except that henceforth martyrdom was to consist in obedience. A fact worth noticing is that in this ascete, so alien to claims of special gifts or high states of prayer, we recognise more than in any other, the very accents of St. Ignatius of Antioch, at the prospect of the highest sacrifice. This hero of asceticism is unconsciously lifted up by the love of Christ enhanced by suffering, into those mystic regions which his humility considered above him. As a matter of fact, the influence of St. Basil reached even those who still followed the way of spiritual contemplation and contributed, for instance, to the moderate mystical teaching of St. John Climacus, very far removed from the incisive assertions of an obligatory mysticism for all—very far removed, too, from the sceptical negations of a too exclusive asceticism.

VI.

HESYCHAST SPIRITUALITY.

If we are to believe Gregory the Sinaite, contemplative life was dead in Greek monasteries¹ at the beginning of the XIVth Century. On the entire holy mountain, only three monks had any notion of mental prayer. The others, though most virtuous folk, only busied themselves with the practical side. So the renewal of mysticism introduced by Symeon the New Theologian, had not lasted.² Gregory became the missionary of contemplation and succeeded wonderfully, thanks to the method by which he propagated it. One can recall it in a few words: leaving aside secondary distinctions, two elements can be discerned: 1st, the "prayer of Jesus," according to the rhythm of the slowest possible breathing, 2nd, a special bodily position. The most important by far was the prayer of Jesus: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have pity on me!" Without referring to the Gospel where is its source, it can be traced back at least to Diadochus, and many authors recommended it long before the Hesychasts.³ But it had never before assumed such great importance. One can actually say that it became the heart of everything in

¹ Vide the life of Gregory the Sinaite, edited by I. Pomjalovskij, published at St. Petersburg, 1894; it is from this that the pamphlet on the *Philokalia* is taken, p. 877 et seq.

² The period between the middle of the XIth and the XIVth century is that which has been least studied from the spiritual point of view.

³ See K. Popov, Blessed Diadochus, *Study of the Prayer of Jesus*, in the *Troudy* of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev, 1902, tome III, pp. 651—676. K. Popov was a great authority on ancient spiritual literature, as is shown by his edition of Diadochus (Kiev, 1903) furnished with a surprising wealth of notes and much superior to that of Weis-Liebersdorf who did not know it.

Hesychast spirituality, just as the heart is the centre of man.¹ And it was through the heart that the "prayer of Jesus" was to be made (for it is not simply a vocal prayer!);² so as to make it spring spontaneously from the heart, a bodily position was devised which consisted in fixing the eyes of the body and soul on the "place of the heart."³

However strange these proceedings appear—even their adepts called them physical and scientific—they do not belong exclusively to the East, and doubtless a cautious theologian would not *a priori* deny their lawfulness. He would only exact that no infallible efficacy be attributed to them and specially that none should hope to reach divine contemplation by their means without passing through all the renunciations and ascetical purifications. The originators of the Hesychast movement were too well acquainted with tradition to fall into that mistake; but they had made their own choice within that tradition. Gregory the Sinaite wrote: "You may always read all that deals with contemplation and prayer, such as Climacus, St. Isaac, St. Maximus, the New Theologian and his disciple Stethatos, Hesychius and Philotheus of Sinai, and other works of that nature. As to the others, leave them alone meanwhile, not because they are to be rejected, but because they do not help towards the end. . . ." ⁴ As previously St. Dorotheus had obeyed St. Barsanuphius in limiting himself to a purely ascetic teaching, so the Hesychasts submissively followed the advice of Gregory the Sinaite to read preferably mystical authors. The *Philokalia*, in which they finally gathered their favourite spiritual works, contained nothing by St. Basil, St. Barsanuphius, St. Dorotheus, St. Theodorus Studite;⁵ but Evagrius is represented and Theodore of Edessa who only copied Evagrius. . . In it, above all, the "prayer of Jesus" is taught, analysed, praised in every way. Everything else leads up to it.

¹ This can be realised by a perusal of S. Boulgakov's recent work, *L'Orthodoxie*, Paris, 1932.

² To take it for such would mean complete incomprehension of this spirituality of Hesychast inspiration. Its partisans called it *νοερά προσευχή*. See *Vie de S. Maxime le Cavesocalyte*, by Theophane de Vatopedi, *Néon Eclogion*, 1863, p. 309—312.

³ See *La Méthode d'Oraison Hésychaste*, *loc. cit.* and the article by the Rev. Fr. Jugie, *Les Origines de la Méthode d'Oraison des hésychastes*, *Echos d'Orient* 30 (1931), pp. 179—185.

⁴ *De quietudine et duobus modis orationis* 11, PG. 150, 1324 D.

⁵ That does not mean that those authors are on the Index, but simply that they are not "neptic" Fathers. In the case of Barsanuphius, which is rather peculiar, see my article on him in *Dictionnaire de la Spiritualité*, fasc. IV. He exerted a double influence and in fact had a double line of successors; Studite ascetics and mystical Hesychasts. This is not the only example, in the history of spirituality, of a great mystic being the founder of too exclusive ascetics. This befell the "great old man" on account of his uncompromising attitude towards Evagrian gnosis.

Still, the authors recommended stand for different degrees. Evagrius is not Diadochus; St. Maximus is not Symeon the New Theologian. What did Hesychasm retain in practice from those differing tendencies? It retained from intellectual spirituality the longing for divine light and therefore exclusion of imaginative visions.¹ This led to endless discussions on the nature of the light of Thabor and finally to the fatal distinction between the divine essence and the divine attributes, uncreated and truly distinct from the essence. But, above all, Hesychasm was connected with the "neptic" Fathers,² as is shown by the very title of the *Philokalia*. It is impossible to translate the word *νησις*. In any case, many more intelligible words are synonymous, *e.g.*, "attention," "silence of the heart," and especially "custody of the heart."³ We read in an article which is like the manifesto of that School: "True recollection and prayer consist in this: that in prayer the mind keeps the heart, turns again and again within the heart and from the depth of that abyss sends up its prayers to the Lord."⁴

Briefly, we might say that Hesychasm had replaced intelligence by the heart. It had made of the heart *the* faculty of religion, of piety and of mysticism. In the Evagrian School, man was considered an intellect; in the others, a psychological consciousness fully aware; in the Hesychast School, man was considered as a heart. All ascetic effort was made to consist in the custody of the heart; the whole secret of contemplation was to bring the other faculties back to the heart, for unless gathered in the heart, they became causes of distractions and illusions. On the contrary: "As soon as the mind finds the region of the heart, it at once contemplates things which had hitherto been unknown. It perceives, indeed, the air which is at the centre of the heart and then sees itself entirely luminous. . . ." ⁵ Thus had spoken Evagrius and John Climacus; but without bringing in the heart, unless it were metaphorically.⁶ For the Hesychasts, the metaphor became a reality (just as the intellectual sensation of Diadochus had become a real sensation for Symeon); it became either a physiological reality,⁷ or at least a faculty of contemplation, of

¹ It still remains to be seen whether, as a matter of fact, the adepts of the system *did* always escape from becoming visionary.

² Vide the title itself of *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν*.

³ *Méthode d'Oraison Hésychaste*, p. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁶ In the sense in which Origen says (*De Oratione* 29, 11, 532 B): τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ὃ καλεῖται καρδιά.

⁷ See the *Περὶ Φυλακῆς καρδίας* of the monk Nikephoros, PG. 147, 963-964; and Nicodemus the Hagiorite, *Enchiridion*, 1861, p. 157 et seq.

supernatural perception, of mystical experience¹ and the source of an unlimited joy. Beginning with "sobriety" (nepsis) they found at the end of their efforts, the inebriation of happiness: it was with good reason that Nicodemus the Hagiorite recalled in his preface to the Philokalia the *νηφάλιος μέθη* of Philo. . . . This point should be developed at length and we could easily enlarge on it using the Philokalia, or the famous account of a Russian pilgrim,² or other works of the same School.

The effect of this spirituality on modern Orthodox theology should be noticed: on the one hand, the Scholastic theses of Palamas on the nature of the light of Thabor and, on the other hand—still more important—the pervading of this mysticism of the heart into the entire religious mentality. Life proceeds from the heart,³ from the threshold of faith to the heights of divine union. Intellectualists had already shown their contempt for rationality, but only to make more of intelligence; St. Maximus would never have dreamed of belittling speculative theology, though he declared it to be incapable of attaining to true contemplation and to perfection. A large percentage of modern anti-scholasticism comes from Hesychasm. Even that doctrine which might be called "panmysticism of the heart," held by some well-known Russian writers,⁴ can be traced back to Hesychasm, interpreting, in its own way, such ancient Doctors as St. Gregory of Nyssa. Their evidently sincere piety with its "cordial" tendencies, prepared them to adopt the ideas of Jacobi, Ritschl, Schleiermacher, etc. That was the Hesychasm of philosophers. Side by side with it, there was the Hesychasm of simple people, and this latter, provided it remains faithful to the traditional principles of faith and asceticism (which quite often happens), can indeed lead souls by means of abnegation and the "prayer of Jesus" to genuine contemplation and to a high Christian perfection. Perhaps also, there was the Hesychasm of false mystics, but I will not speak of that. False mystics are just as easily to be found in other Schools.

¹ Something in any case superior to reason and to intelligence considered as a faculty of philosophical knowledge; under different names, σοφία, mysticism, it is the supra-rational faculty which is to be found in the works of such Orthodox philosophers as Berdjaev, Petropavlovskij, Avgoustin, Vysseslavcev, etc.

² Reinhold von Walter, *Ein russisches Pilgerleben*, Berlin, 1925. The original Russian text: 3rd, ed. Kazan 1884. English translation by R. M. French, *The Way of a Pilgrim*, 1930; a French translation appeared in the review *Irenikon*.

³ Vide Th. Spáčil, *Doctrina Theologiae Orientis Separati de Revelatione, Fide, Dogmati*. (*Orientalia Christiana XXXI* 2, p. 173 et seq.)

⁴ Vide above, Note 4.

Perhaps some will be surprised that I have not mentioned the Liturgy. Its importance is nevertheless fundamental—so assuredly is that of Holy Scripture, which I have not mentioned either. Such universal sources of Christian piety are not Schools of spirituality in the limited meaning of the expression. The question is to find out what each particular School has done with them, how it has considered them, esteemed them, interpreted them, used them—or neglected them. And the same question would crop up about many other subjects, such as the imitation of Jesus Christ, devotion to Our Lady and the Saints, the cult of images and relics, the position of the Holy Eucharist and the use of the Sacraments, etc. Many studies could be made on those matters, but little would be changed in the general historical lines which we have sketched.¹

A LAST REMARK.

The history of doctrines is one thing, and that of facts another. Even when one has classified and characterised the different Schools of spirituality, one has not thereby shown the range of their influence over periods or over regions. Some history of the facts is therefore necessary, though it alone would neither satisfy our minds, eager for knowledge, nor adequately prepare our souls, zealous for the apostolate. The facts only make us *know*. To *understand*, we must have the history of the doctrines themselves. Doubtless, it could be objected that the bulk of the faithful belong to no School. Nevertheless, they do receive an impression from ideas, slowly and sometimes reluctantly, but all the more lastingly. Did we not enlighten our material learning by an exact knowledge of doctrinal systems, we would be reduced—as has so often happened—to falling back on the too easy explanation of “temperament.” Whereas a clear view of the trend of ideas would enable us to analyse those complex tendencies and to influence them by their very causes. Obviously, we should find above all those elements which are common to all Schools. *E.g.*, if, as is often said, Eastern ascetics incline more towards passive than active virtues, does this come from an unconquerable inherited tendency, or might it not rather be largely due to the fact that from Clement of Alexandria onwards, all their spiritual teachers, especially the mystics, though also the ascetics such as St. Basil, put before them, either as a moral

¹ In any case, it is quite a mistake to take as characteristic of Eastern piety the popularity or otherwise of certain exterior acts of cult at a given period and in a given country. One must go back to the causes of the popularity or unpopularity—to the spirit animating those acts—and to the end sought by the souls who perform them or neglect them. See on that subject the very appropriate remarks of S. Tyszkiewicz, *Spiritualité et sainteté russe et brasovlave*, *Gregorianum* XV 3 (1934), pp. 349—376.

ideal, or as a necessary condition for contemplation, that "apathia" which is always suspected by the West? Whence comes that exquisite charity, which we so like to attribute to Eastern Saints? And how does this fit in with the previous characteristic? Surely because brotherly love was taken to be a means of personal sanctification and as a necessary remedy for the irascible passions considered as the great obstacle to a life of prayer. That is why charity took the special form of gentleness and forgiveness. Why did not that charity urge more towards apostolic good works? Because from Origen's time, it had been an axiom that only the perfect were qualified to teach others. Apostolic life, as understood in the West, *i.e.*, an active life like that of the Apostles, presupposes what the Orientals call "apostolic life," meaning a holiness of life equal to that of the Apostles. It is that definite teaching of their Doctors which has caused the infatuation of crowds for "ancients" and "Startzi." In the same way, we could trace the theories of each School, but that would require another lecture, doubtless more interesting than the too abstract outline which you have just heard. To the study of spirituality, as to the practice of the spiritual life, we may apply the maxim of St. Nilus: ὁ τὰ λυπηρὰ ὑποφέρων καὶ τῶν περιχαρῶν τεύχεται. "One must go through tediousness to reach happiness."¹

I. HAUSHERR, S.J.

(To be continued).

VLADIMIR SOLOVIEV

AN INTERPRETATION.

(continued).

(IV)

IN the kingdom of nature there are places of beauty admired by many, inhabited by none. Somehow there are obstacles to that care-free intimacy which a man requires for his dwelling-place. Very often these obstacles are twofold. Some arise from the deficiencies of the admirer. The blinding light, the massive power, the outspoken, cutting contour of the mountain ridge are meat unfit for stomachs used to Baedeker's condensed milk. Others arise from a tangle of uncommon characteristics which seem to repel a too intimate approach. All this applies to Vladimir Soloviev. No one admires him unreservedly. On the other hand, the reserves imposed upon this almost world-wide admiration are by no means the same in the manifold judgments

¹ *De oratione*, cap. 93.

pronounced on the great philosopher. Sometimes the reserves are prompted by a mere lack of understanding. This class of judges should, without hesitation, be relegated to the category of Baedeker. Yet it must be admitted that it is far from easy to understand Soloviev's case. First of all, he was not a philosopher of the abstract, but one of those profoundly "practical" thinkers for whom thought serves only to catch and to reflect in a vital way the life of reality. He had a sense of poetry, and the outstanding line of his nature was a profoundly mystical bent. Secondly, there was certainly also a tangle of strangely combined, or even contradictory, features which can only be taken fairly in the way he would wish to be taken: as a whole, a complex fact, a "uni-total" fact. And so it has come about that Soloviev is sometimes praised as sincere but misled, or as profound but unhealthy.

To call Soloviev unhealthy is such an offensive disparagement that we shall start our final appreciation with a rehabilitation. The first—to our knowledge—who applied the term "unhealthy" to Soloviev, was N. Berdyaev.¹ He writes: "There are many turbid elements in his sophianic mentality; his poems prove this . . . Soloviev had the cult of the 'eternal feminine' (das Ewige Weibliche), a cosmic cult. The traits of feminine beauty in the Sophia seduce him. . . . His Sophia is exclusively cosmic. . . . The tragic meeting of Soloviev with Anna Schmidt, a mystic genius, shows the unhealthy aspect of Soloviev's sophianic aspirations. . . ." As a matter of fact the "tragic meeting" revealed a sound common sense. N. Berdyaev is liable to sweeping generalizations which he pronounces rather authoritatively but which he does not justify. Here is the translation of the very timely footnote which accompanies J. N. Danzas' quotation of Berdyaev: "M. Berdyaev mentions in a note the writings of Mme. Schmidt, calling them 'one of the most remarkable mystical books in Russian, though near folly.' We, for our part, are inclined to see more folly in it than anything else. The poor lady let herself go on vague gnostic reveries, where Soloviev appeared as the Paraclete or the Anthropos Celestial, the Bridegroom of the Church or the Sophia, incarnated in Mme. Schmidt. With difficulty Soloviev got rid of this too exalted admirer whom he first knew by correspondence only; after the first meeting with her he said with a smile that, as for playing the celestial Bride, the poor woman had not the figure for the part."² It looks very much as

¹ Studies on Boehme, in: Put', n. 21, pp. 52—56. Quoted by J. N. Danzas, *Les réminiscences gnostiques dans la philosophie religieuse russe moderne*, in: *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 1936, pp. 658—685; the quotation figures on p. 664.

² J. N. Danzas, op. 1, p. 664, n. 2.

if the tragic aspect of the meeting is the creation of M. Berdyaev. At any rate, Soloviev's reaction to the situation was that of a healthy, robust common sense. But Berdyaev's version caught on. J. N. Danzas herself seems only too inclined to lean upon Berdyaev for her appreciation of the great thinker.¹ N. Brian-Chaninov thought it fit to present this man to the *grand public en Occident* in *La Croix* in the particular light of "this turbidity and this somewhat unhealthy romanticism."² Even Dr. Pfleger in his *Wrestlers with Christ* often invokes Berdyaev's authority in his essay on Soloviev.

To interpret the man Soloviev on these erotic and romantic lines is to miss the mark entirely. First of all, because such an interpretation is mainly based on the poetic remains which constitute only a very small part of the bulk of Soloviev's work. Then, also, because such an interpretation not only flatly contradicts Soloviev's own interpretation but also the undeniable facts of Soloviev's life which point in a direction which is anything but romantic. The poetic remains of Soloviev are all clustered round the *Three Encounters*, a poem in which he celebrates the three visions of the Sophia. The first Encounter happened to fall in a period when the nine-year-old boy was in love with a lass of the same age. But, says Dr. Pfleger, "sexual love was simply the psychological starting-point and the exciting stimulus. . . . Kobilinsky-Ellis warns us against reading an erotic and romantic meaning into Soloviev's mystical poetry. In this he is in agreement with Soloviev himself who in the preface to the third edition of his poems calls 'the transference of fleshly relations common to men and beasts into the sphere of the super-human the extreme degradation, and reverence for the female sex as such the utmost folly.' . . ." Moreover "the second and the

¹ In her article quoted above J. N. Danzas insinuates that the Sophia-doctrine is based on the old gnosticism. Here, too, we do not agree with her appreciation. Gnosticism, especially as described by the author, is characterized by beings arbitrarily invented and necessarily intermediate between God and Man. But the whole point of Soloviev's Sophia is that *nothing* intermediate is possible; Man becomes the God Which he was in potency; that is the kernel of the Divine-Humanity teaching. Moreover, the chain of intermediate beings invented by the old gnosticism endeavours to constitute a scale of levels that make it possible for a Divine Æon to occupy itself with abject mankind. It is a *downward* movement. But in the Sophia-teaching Man who was God within God and without autonomous existence, receives (or rather takes) an autonomous existence, and in this existence outside God endeavours to *recover* his *essential* divinity; the movement is entirely *upward*. The Sophia, we repeat it, is not gnosticism, but *German idealism* (or, in the rather confusing terminology used especially by English authors: *German realism*), blended with the Russian Orthodox religious sentiment.

² April 5th, 1937. This is a review of Motchoulsky's Vladimir Soloviev. Y.M.C.A. Press (the usual publishers of Berdyaev's group). Paris, 1936.

third (encounters) lacked this emotional background.”¹ If we take the *whole* of Soloviev’s writings and life we cannot seriously maintain that there was anything unhealthy or erotic (as referring to sexual love) in the Sophia. Soloviev loved, and loved ardently, but not the woman. Anna Schmidt failed to see this, and was severely handled by a common sense which was above all sentimentality. The great discoveries concerning the Sophia are followed by a vow of celibacy “kept with the fidelity of a priest.” In *Russia and the universal Church* the woman is not even mentioned! To our mind the Sophia of Soloviev is merely the personification of the creaturely, and, more precisely, of the human. This “creaturely” implies the receptive, the potential, and therefore is best expressed in the concrete by “womanhood” or the “feminine.” When personified it may refer to Christ as human, or to Our Lady, the *receptaculum Spiritus Sancti*, or, again, to the Church, the *Christus Totalis* at large. In none of these aspects and personifications is there anything sexual: there is simply no room for the sexual in this atmosphere. This is the reason why we reject not only the term “unhealthy”—which is a mere unfair disparagement—but also the qualifications “romantic” or “erotic.” Soloviev’s love was not sexual, not even Platonically sexual; it was merely an intense responsiveness, an answer pronounced with the whole of his being, to the revelation, the mystical approach, of a truth. Which truth?

Dr. Pflieger has already noted that “Soloviev’s philosophy and theology culminate in his philosophy of Divine-humanity, not in the doctrine of Sophia which is to be regarded rather as the final argument for the conception, the central conception of Divine-humanity.”² Kojevnikov would surely agree with him on this point. The distinction between the Sophia and Divine-humanity is subtle but just. We should like to go farther still. If we wish to know the true intuition of a philosopher we must work backwards: from the general issues, the outskirts, of the philosophical elaboration to the first simple or complex truth which supports the whole construction. This means: we must discover the truth which inspires all other truths, the truth which remains unswervingly present—implicitly or explicitly—throughout the divers phases of the mental evolution, from beginning to end. Divine-humanity is an idea born of the *discursive faculty*, it is the fruit of *reason*. It is a philosophical explication, elaboration, of something more simple, more clear, something which may well

¹ K. Pflieger, *Wrestlers with Christ*, London, 1936, p. 228.

² *Op.* 1, p. 260.

be the object of an intuition. The fact is that all agree with Soloviev's autobiographical statement that his starting-point was the experience of an *intuition*. What then was the object of Soloviev's intuition which was simultaneously a religious experience? Throughout *Russia and the universal Church, The spiritual foundations of life*, the lectures on theandristm and his other works, Soloviev continually starts from, comes back to, brings up, in and out of season, an idea, simple, neat and concrete. This idea is *the organic unity of mankind*. He nowhere attempts to prove it. It was difficult to prove it because he saw it. He never felt the need of proving it because he saw it from the beginning. The figure Soloviev, nine years old, saw in a bluish light at the altar, at the solemn Mass on the feast of the Ascension, was the symbol of men's organic unity redeemed by Christ, with Christ and in Christ. At that Mass of the Ascension the whole of Christ's Redeeming-Act was re-enacted under the particular aspect of the glorification of the Christus Totalis, Christ one with mankind. There is nothing exorbitant in this interpretation of the vision for any one who knows the truly liturgical spirit in which the simple-minded Russian assists at the sacramental celebration of the Redeeming-Act. And Soloviev's father, the great historian, was such a simple-minded son of the Orthodox Church and its liturgical traditions. At the age of nine Soloviev had not yet been in touch with materialism or idealism. We do not say that he understood from the very beginning the meaning of his vision, but we maintain that the organic unity of mankind redeemed by Christ was the message of his vision. Gradually the time-and-space aspect of the vision evaporates to leave on the bottom of Soloviev's soul the solid gold of a genuine and pure intuition. To see mankind as organically one, and this organism as vivified by Christ and His Redeeming-Act is something concrete enough and real enough to be the object of a true intuition and a soul's experience. It is our conviction that this organic unity of mankind is the sole true key to the understanding of Soloviev. With this idea in mind there is no contradiction between Soloviev's life and his thought, between the historical and the theological part of *Russia*; this idea is the root of Soloviev's further expansion. The intuition of the organic unity of mankind was the primordial *fact* that sent Soloviev down the road of facts: history, and down the road of thought: philosophy, in search of the Kingdom of Unity. The radical sincerity of Soloviev did not allow him to be led astray where history was concerned. *Russia* shows that Soloviev was able to handle facts severely, to strip them of all false apparel and to show them forth as the muscles of an athletic reality. Life indeed is not an argument but a com-

plex of *facts* grown out of an intuition. The whole creation is but a fact suspended on God's intuition. Where thought was concerned, Soloviev was, like every other man, dependent on his predecessors, and his educational environment. Sincerity and a sound judgment are sufficient to handle facts, even if a man is left to himself. But no man left to himself has ever succeeded in constructing a complete and independent metaphysical synthesis. Each man for himself can see and judge facts; he can think but as a part of mankind. The "mankind" that surrounded Soloviev had drifted away from the royal road of the *philosophia perennis* into the narrow *impasse* of idealistic univocation. It is exactly this univocation which makes the Sophia-elaboration of Soloviev's first intuition unacceptable. Yet, if the argument as such is thus void of vitality, the personal effort, involved in it, sprang from the very same intuition which forced Soloviev into historical *researches*. D'Herbigny reduced Soloviev's grandeur to a pale apologetic argument; Pfleger sees no connection between Soloviev's reconciliation and his philosophy, between Parts I and II of *Russia*, and Part III; Bulgakov would like to drop the inexplicable reconciliation and to maintain the philosophy only; Berdyaev remains entirely on the surface and therefore discovers nothing but contradictions and romantic emotions. And yet there is a basic unity in Soloviev's existence which—to us—explains and reconciles all in so far as his person is concerned. The organic unity of mankind redeemed by Christ was the concrete object of his three encounters; it inspired that unquenchable thirst for its absolute justification through facts as well as through reason; it inspired that prophetic mission of actualizing this unity in Christ in concrete reality; it was the relentless sting that forced him into reconciliation. And it was as pure, as true and as noble as any other Christian inspiration. The intuition that formed the kernel of the vision was of the purest orthodoxy, for it was nothing else than the Mystical Body, which is, indeed, nothing else than the organic unity of mankind transformed through Christ's Redeeming-Act. In *Russia* the third part is but the unfortunately idealistic elaboration of the idea of the Mystical Body; the second part sets forth an argument in favour of the Primacy and Infallibility of the Bishop of Rome entirely drawn from the idea of the Mystical Body; the first part prepares the ground by a ruthless destruction of all rival solutions; and the Introduction brilliantly informs the audience about the situation: the *status questionis*. There are few works with such a strong fundamental unity as *Russia*; there are few existences with such a virile consistency as that of Vladimir Soloviev.

It has always been very mysterious to us why so much should be written about a nine-year-old boy's little experience and nothing about a forty-three-year-old man's big experience. Perhaps it is just bad taste to speak of Soloviev's reconciliation. Again it is strange why so much ink is spilled on a few poems and none or hardly any on glaring facts. Who understands a poem? And a Russian philosopher's poem at that? We must dwell for a moment on what happened on the 18th February, 1896, in the Chapel of Our Lady of Lourdes at Moscow. That day Soloviev read his *professio fidei* to which he added the declaration printed at the end of his Introduction to *Russia*. Since 1881 the Universities had shut their doors to the young professor; since 1889 *Russia* with its crushing frankness had been published in French, as no Russian press could take it. Throughout these years an unswerving fidelity to his intuition had taught him loyally to follow the truth at every turn of the road.

The beginning of this road had been an experience: a *fact*. This point can hardly be over-estimated. Soloviev is primarily a man of facts. Because he is a man of facts his intuition is superior to his thought. Because he is a man of facts his thought is the servant of life. Philosophy has meaning for him only in so far as it is the basic element of true human life. Soloviev is a philosopher only because he wants to exploit, to create life. Truth is for him but the soul of reality. On this point he was truly Platonic: the philosophers are the workers of life. But just as truth has no meaning if it is not life, so life has no meaning if it is not truth. Soloviev was one of those terrific souls for whom no moment of life is meaningless, to whom nothing can be indifferent, who cannot satisfy themselves with the thirty-fold if the hundred-fold is offered. He understood the "be perfect" and the Christian version of this in the organic progress of the all-embracing Christos Totalis "unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ." His intuition had revealed the organic unity of mankind in Christ. Therefore mankind can reach its aim in unity only. Thus Soloviev's existence must needs become a struggle for unity. But unity is uncompromising: division is the very contradiction of unity. And yet, division reigns in religious life, division perverts national life, division opposes nations and individuals alike. Division is but the outward manifestation of the everlasting struggle between error and truth. The Truth, being the soul of unity, now becomes the battlefield of Soloviev's struggle for life. Truth is in Christ: Ego sum Veritas. But the Truth which is Christ is not limited to the individual Christ: it is co-extensive with the Christos Totalis. And the Christos Totalis is Christ with the Church He built. Where to find

the Church which is inspired by the Truth of Christ, not as an Individual only, but as one, organically one with mankind? There where Peter still connects mankind organically with its Head. The issue is getting oppressively narrow. Union with Peter is the final toll taken of Soloviev by the intuition of the organic unity of mankind. Being a philosopher of life Soloviev cannot stop at the conclusions provided by reason. His true life was born of a fact, and thought can be but a stimulus towards the creation of new facts. If his prophetic mission of fostering unity demands union, organic union, with Peter, then the prophet cannot preach in a more sincere and convincing way than by being himself organically one with Peter, by turning his conclusion into a *fait accompli*. Life proceeds from fact to fact, and each fact, born of a fact, becomes the fecund parent of a whole generation of facts. Without any tragic scenes Soloviev quietly took this line of creating and exploiting facts. For years he lived in a small room in a hotel in St. Petersburg. There he broke the bread of his prophetic mission to young students, starting with general metaphysics, passing on to the spiritual contents of life, then on to religion, and the redemption of mankind in and through Christ, fully achieved only in the Church of Peter. But he could not stop at preaching a doctrine: truth, for Soloviev, meant life and facts. His own reconciliation bore its most characteristic fruit in the formation of John Deibner as a true priest of Russian blood and of the Russian rite, in full living union with the See of Peter. Soloviev was eminently a man; his beauty lies in the serene virility which our individualistic, feminine, sensationallly "apocalyptic" civilization is unable to appreciate.

Soloviev stands for three fundamental principles. The first of these three is the *organic unity of mankind* as the norm of all human values. In the Christian world this means that the Christus Totalis, the Mystical Body of Christ, is the norm of human existence. The second principle is that the basis and soul of true human life is spiritual: the *sovereignty of the mind*. There is no worthy life without deepening of the soul, without thought. Soloviev stands for the supremely "practical" value of philosophy. The modern fear of thinking is the suicide of Western civilization. The most efficacious conversions are the conversions of conviction. The most efficacious contact with the souls of our fellowmen is by way of first truths. If modern life hangs in the air, it is because it has drifted away from true metaphysics. Finally Soloviev stands for the *sovereignty of the fact*.

It seems to us that there is an abysmal difference between the philosophical outlook within the Church, and that outside

the Church. This difference is that all philosophies outside the Church are inclined to subject all reality to discursive reason. Reality is an argument, a syllogism; as long as there remains a *why* for reason, they are not and cannot be satisfied. God Himself must be explained. They do not escape the tyranny of reason. Catholic philosophy accepts reason as a noble, as the noblest instrument of progress, but reason is not the supreme value. This supreme value is in the fact, in the datum. The Sophia-doctrine is the product of reason as supreme: therefore it gnaws the Mystery of God away: it wants to reduce Creator and creature to the narrow scope of a *demonstratio a priori*. Catholic philosophy starts with an argument *a posteriori*: it starts by accepting a *fact*. God is not a conclusion, God is an axiom. Again, for the Sophia-doctrine the Incarnation is part of a syllogism, whilst for the Catholic, that, too, is an axiom. And precisely *because* Catholic philosophy makes the *fact* supreme, it admits a zone of superior knowledge: it reveres *intuition* as the mistress and the aim of reason. This absolute sovereignty of fact and intuition makes Catholic philosophy the philosophy of *life*. Life is made up of facts and intuition. Reason may speculate on life, may try to formulate it, but it never becomes life, it never creates life. Here lies the most beautiful aspect of Soloviev's personality. He was a man of life, of facts based on the intellectual basis of an intuition. His intuition was a grace, a participation in Divine "Givenness." The fact of this intuition created the fact of his reconciliation, and each fact borne on the wings of his spiritual intuition fecundated the waters of many souls, and became the father of many children.

Berdyayev has hard words of Soloviev. Berdyayev thought he was not a true disciple of Dostoevsky.¹ But Soloviev may have been the Master of Dostoevsky. Dostoevsky was an artist. But though art is the sublimation of sense-life, it remains in the sphere of the senses. Dostoevsky spoke much of suffering, but his sufferings were highly pathological. Dostoevsky wrote touching words of fidelity towards Christ, but who was the Christ of Dostoevsky? Dostoevsky has described the underworld of the soul with a mastery that can hardly be surpassed, but there are traits of genius which betray a pathological unhingement. There is hardly any description of interior agony that may be compared with the scene of Ivan and the devil in *The Brothers Karamazov*, but it is a creation that could never have been produced by a soul in order. Then, there is the "masterpiece": the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor. Berdyayev writes: "The Legend of the Grand Inquisitor is the high point of Dostoevsky's work and the

¹ Dostoevsky, *an Interpretation*, London, 1934, p. 219.

crown of his dialectic. It is in it that his constructive views on religion must be sought ; all the tangles are unravelled and the radical problem, that of human freedom, is solved. This problem is more or less openly the theme of the whole Legend, and it is noteworthy that the extremely powerful vindication of Christ (which is what the Legend is) should be put into the mouth of the atheist Ivan Karamazov."¹ In the Legend the Grand Inquisitor (representing the Church whose " authority " was " perverting " Christ's message) lays hands on Christ (Dostoievsky's Christ !) and reproaches him for reappearing and interfering with the Church's authority. The kernel of the Legend is the Inquisitor's speech which contains the interpretation of the three temptations of Christ. " In the three temptations presented to Christ the whole of the future history of mankind was foretold ; they are the three forms in which all the historically insoluble contradictions of earthly human nature are reconciled."² How does Dostoievsky interpret these three temptations ? The Inquisitor says to Christ, his Prisoner : " In truth, Thou didst Thyself lay the foundation for the destruction of Thy kingdom, and no one is more to blame for it. Yet what was offered Thee ? There are three powers, three powers alone, able to conquer and to hold captive for ever the conscience of these impotent rebels for their happiness—those forces are miracle, mystery and authority."³ Those forces are faith, sacrament and authority. Especially authority. For Dostoievsky, faith, sacrament and authority are the enemies of freedom. They represent compulsion, vulgar compulsion. Father Sergius Bulgakov, the disciple of Soloviev as much as Berdyaev is the disciple of Dostoievsky, says that " it is obvious that Vladimir Soloviev had a tremendous influence on Dostoievsky."⁴ It is certain that the theme of the three temptations is one of Soloviev's favourites. But if Dostoievsky took this theme from Soloviev, he certainly misunderstood his master. In the *Spiritual Foundations of Life* Soloviev treats in two places of the temptations.⁵ For Soloviev " these forces " are not miracle, mystery and authority, but : sensuality, pride and ambition. As to faith, sacraments and authority, Soloviev's ideas may be gathered from the following quotation : " We know that the unity by which the Church remains established on Her Divine base, is realized through three bonds. Christ said : ' I am the way, the truth

¹ Id., *ibid.*, p. 188.

² Id., *ibid.*, pp. 195—196.

³ *The Brothers Karamazov* (Everyman's Library), I, p. 261 (P. II, B. V., c. V).

⁴ *The Wisdom of God*, London, 1937, p. 24.

⁵ Part I, c. I and P. II, c. I.

and the life.' If, therefore, Christ is permanently and totally present in His Church, He must be present as way, as truth, and as life. The *hierarchical succession*, starting from Christ, is *the way* by which Christ's grace spreads over the whole of His Body, His Church; the *belief* in the dogma of His God-Manhood, through which we confess that Christ is the perfect man, bears witness to *the truth* of Christ; the holy *sacraments* are the sources of Christ's *life* in us. *In the hierarchy, Christ Himself is present as way; in the confession of faith, as truth; in the sacraments, as life*; and through the union of these three *facts* the Kingdom of God is formed, of which Christ is the Master."¹ To reduce authority and faith in the Church to vulgar compulsion is an obviously vulgar interpretation which seems to rouse in Soloviev throughout his works the prophetic wrath of Isaias. For Soloviev there is no Christ without the Church for which He was born, died and arose. The attitude towards Christ reveals a fundamental opposition between Dostoevsky and Soloviev; it shows how far from the truth Radlov was when he called Soloviev "the systematizer of Dostoevsky's ideas."² What Dr. Pflieger has forgotten in his apology for Dostoevsky is precisely the fact that, though perfectly conscious of the existence of the Orthodox Church, in Dostoevsky's relations with Christ there is but his self and Christ: the Church—we are not afraid to say—is flatly ignored. Dostoevsky's Christ is the Christ of the artistic underworld, the Christ of sentiment, at most: the Christ of psychology (modern psychology); it is the Christ of emotions and feelings, of tragic inspirations, of humanitarian dreams, of the morbid happiness of a public confession. "The Possessed," "The Idiot," "A Raw Youth," "Crime and Punishment," "Letters from the Underworld," "The Plan of Life of a Great Sinner" make Dostoevsky the Zola of religious psychopathology. We know the jottings of his diary that represent his elevations to Christ. We shall be the last to judge the secrets of a fellow-man's soul. But when we see a man writing about Christ and at the same time sarcastically ridiculing away the Church his "beloved" Christ died for, the very Bride and Child of that Christ's Blood and Cross, then we wonder. And yet that is the underlying thesis of both Dostoevsky's and Berdyaev's struggle for "freedom," in their own words, the "freedom" to sin. We do not want that Christ who "came softly, unobserved, and yet, strange to say, everyone recognised Him. . . . The people are

¹ Part II, c. II: The Church. This whole chapter is a profound and exact discussion of the distinction between the divine and the human aspects of the Church.

² Quoted by Pflieger, op. 1, p. 217.

irresistibly drawn to Him, they surround Him, they flock about Him, follow Him. He moves silently in their midst with a gentle smile of infinite compassion. The sun of love burns in His heart, light and power shine from His eyes, and their radiance, shed on the people, stirs their hearts with responsive love. He holds out His hands to them, blesses them, and healing virtue comes from contact with Him, even with His garments. . . . He looks with compassion, and His lips once more softly pronounce, 'Maiden, arise!' and the maiden arises. . . ."¹ We are sick of the religious jelly of humanitarian Christianity. We are sick of those sweet philanthropic Christs of artistic emotionalism and a *blasé* bourgeois psychology. We want a Christ Who consoles, but Whose consolations smite and judge. We want the Christ Who spoke as "One having authority," "saying: 'All power is given to me in heaven and on earth. Going *therefore* teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'"² The summit of Dostoevsky's ideal is Alyosha's "conversion": "Alyosha stood, gazed, and suddenly threw himself down on the earth. He did not know why he embraced it. He could not have told why he longed so irresistibly to kiss it, to kiss it all. But he kissed it weeping, sobbing and watering it with his tears, and vowed passionately to love it, to love it for ever and ever. 'Water the earth with the tears of your joy and love those tears,' echoed in his soul."³ Soloviev's ideal is reached without such romanticism. Soloviev recognizes but one ideal: the austere ideal of life laboriously built up with stern facts that alone serve as stones. But those stones are living stones: each fact is animated and shaped by diamond thought. His temple rises and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and their honour into it. Soloviev's ideal is to be seen in Soloviev himself.

Like all great men he happened to be photographed. This took place when he was thirty-eight years old. He is represented seated in an arm-chair. A truly prophetic beard and a laurel of wild locks form the frame of the face. The eyebrows are black and heavy like the moustache and the beard. The face is regular and quiet. No traces of the underworld, not even a rustle of intimate suffering, especially no attractive smile. The eyes stare ahead frankly, openly, unfearingly.

¹ *The Brothers Karamazov*, I, p. 254—255.

² Mt. xxviii, 18—20.

³ *The Brothers Karamazov*, I, p. 377.

No nervousness, no hysteria, no auto-biographical attitudes. The hands, strong, thin and spiritually athletic rest in peaceful power on the crossed legs ; no gambling hands but hands that handle facts. There he sits, the incarnation of utter virility in the grandeur of its serene power, silent, intense, dynamic. That bearing, that face, those eyes, those hands are not those of a humanitarian dreamer ; they are those of a man conscious of his royal power and responsibility ; not of a superman, not of a man of the underworld, but of a man who knows that he is priest, king and prophet of the created universe and does not shrink from his dignity. That was Vladimir Serguievitch Soloviev. Dostoievsky writes in his Diary that one day he will write a book about Christ, and he goes out, and gambles. Soloviev rises from his University chair, faces Eastern cesaro-papism and Western decadence, openly denounces them to themselves, and without the help of a Diary, with a hand that knows of no trembling, writes one more FACT in the Book of LIFE of the Lamb. . . .

Dr. Pfleger writes : " Soloviev most emphatically does not belong to the category of men labelled as positivist : *he understood absolutely nothing of ' practical life.'*" He had the air of an Old Testament prophet but was as absent-minded as the typical professor. On one occasion he spent the entire night on the landing because he had returned too late from a solitary walk of philosophic meditation, and meanwhile the long row of bedroom doors had mischievously withdrawn into impenetrable darkness. He was quite unable to keep the money which he earned by all-night vigils, for he was besieged all day by visitors of every description, like the writer in his last book, *Three Conversations*, who felt it his duty to receive every caller, answer every letter, read every book sent him, write every review he was asked to write, and lost his reason in consequence. The days on which he received payment were red letter days for the beggars. What need has he of filthy lucre, when he can live on tea and vegetables, is a vegetarian on philosophical grounds and at times even treats his daily lunch as a luxury in which he will indulge only on alternate days that the meal he has saved may feed the hungry ? His entire life was marked by a lofty indifference towards possessions, honours and everything that the world regards as important, profitable or necessary. *He on the contrary believed that by occupying himself with that which lies behind and above the world, with useless metaphysics, he was treading the highest summits of existence.*"¹

What is practical life ?

DOM THEODORE WESSELING.

¹ Op. I., p 224.

APPENDIX.

We append two extracts from *Russia* particularly illustrative of Soloviev's deep and vast and "practical" thought. The first is taken from the second Part, on the rôle and meaning of St Peter and the Papacy (pp. 88—90; 99—94; 99—101); the second from the third Part in which Soloviev describes in a "practical" way how to realize his "free theocracy" (pp. 321—325). Both passages are supremely actual in a time when meetings and congresses of re-union are in vogue, and the struggle between Christ and Anti-Christ comes more and more to the fore with the progress of anti-clerical naturalism.

T.W.

(i) "The union of the divine and of the human, which is the purpose of creation, was accomplished individually (hypostatically) in the one person of Jesus-Christ, 'True God and true Man, uniting the two natures perfectly, without confusion and without division.' Henceforward God's work in time enters on a new phase. The issue is no longer a physical and individual unity, but a moral and *social* union. The God-Man wishes to weld to Himself in a perfect union the human race, plunged in sin and error. How will He go about it? Will He deal with each soul separately? Will he be content with a purely interior and subjective link? He answers no: 'Οικοδομήσω τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μου—I shall build My Church. Here is a real, objective work. But will He subject this work to all the natural divisions of the human race? Will He unite Himself to some particular nations as such, by giving them *independent* national Churches? No, for He does not say: I shall build My Churches, but My Church—τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μου. The humanity united to God must form one single social edifice, and a solid base must be found for this unity.

Genuine union is based on the reciprocal action of those united. The act of absolute Truth Who reveals Himself in the God-Man (the perfect Man), must meet, from the side of imperfect humanity, an act of irrevocable adhesion binding us to the divine principle. The incarnate God will not have His truth accepted in a passive or servile fashion. In His new dispensation He demands recognition by a free act of humanity. But at the same time, this free act must be *perfectly well-directed*, must be *infallible*. The point at issue, then, is to establish a fixed, immovable point where God may find an immediate base on which to build; a point where man's spontaneity may coincide with divine Truth in a synthetic act purely human in form and divinely infallible in content. . . .

The firm emplacement, the unshakable rock or stone which is to support the divino-human operation is found. One single man who has God's aid to speak for the whole world,

that is the constitutive base of the universal Church. She stands firm, not on an impossible unanimity of all believers, not on the agreement—always dubious—of a council, but on the real, living unity of the prince of the apostles. Henceforth, whenever the truth comes up for debate before Christian mankind, neither universal suffrage, nor an elected council shall furnish the decisive, determined answer. Men's arbitrary opinions will only give birth to heresies; and a decentralized hierarchy, at the mercy of the secular power, will avoid declaring itself, or speak in a *Robber Council* as at Ephesus. Only in her union with the rock on which she is founded will the Church be able to assemble real councils, and fix the truth in authentic formulas. This is no opinion, but a historical fact of such weight that the most solemn moments have seen it acclaimed by the Eastern Episcopate itself, jealous as it was of St. Peter's successors. Not only was the splendid dogmatic letter of Pope Leo the Great recognized as Peter's work by the Greek Fathers of the fourth Ecumenical Council, but it was also as Peter's that the sixth Council accepted the letter of Pope Agatho (who was far from having the same personal authority as Leo): 'The Head and Prince of the Apostles,' said the Eastern Fathers, 'fought on our side. . . . We saw the ink of the letter, and there was Peter speaking through Agatho (καὶ μέλαν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ δι' Ἀγαθῶνος ὁ Πέτρος ἐφθέγγετο) . . .'

If the power of binding and loosing bestowed on the Apostles is no mere metaphor and no merely personal and passing attribute, but the real, living germ of a universal and perpetual institution embracing the whole existence of the Church, how can the special endowments of St. Peter, proclaimed in such explicit and solemn terms, be ineffective metaphors or personal and temporary privileges? They too must apply to a basic and permanent institution of which the historical person of Simon Bar-Jona is but the principal and typical representative. The God-Man did not found passing institutions. He saw, through and beyond the mortal individuality of His chosen ones, the permanent principles and types of His work. His words to the college of Apostles embraced the priestly order, the Teaching Church, in its entirety. His sublime words to Peter alone created in the person of a single Apostle the sovereign and indivisible power of the universal Church for all her duration and development through the centuries. Christ did not found His Church on, or guarantee its permanence by, the common power of the Apostles, for He did not say to them: Upon you I will found My Church. This proves conclusively that the Lord did not consider the order of bishops and priests (represented by the

apostles in common) as in itself sufficing to constitute the unshakable base of the universal Church in her inevitable struggle with the gates of hell. This struggle against evil was foremost in Jesus' mind when He founded His visible Church; and to ensure that His work should have the unity which brings strength, He set over the hierarchical order a single central institution, absolutely indivisible and independent, possessed of its own right of the complete fulness of all promises and power: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*

All reasoning in favour of the sovereign central power of the Universal Church would be of small value even in our eyes if it were nothing but reasoning. But these arguments are all bound up with a *divino-human fact* which forces itself on Christian faith in spite of all the artificial interpretations brought up to suppress it."

(ii). "Christ did not unite the divine and the human in His individual Person that they might remain separated in His social body. He is Priest, King, and Prophet. He has made this threefold monarchy the final shape of Christian society. His priesthood gives the Church its firm foundation, His Kingship justifies the State, and He has enabled them to exist and march to perfection in solidarity by leaving the world the free, living action of His prophetic spirit. But His Priesthood and His Royalty use human organs to show forth the divine essence of the God-Man. It will not be otherwise with His Prophethood. We are bound to admit a third principal ministry in the Christian world, a ministry uniting the two others in a synthesis, holding out to the Church and to the State the perfect ideal of divinized humanity as supreme purpose of their combined action.

The prophetic spirit can never wane or flicker out in the universal body of Christ. It breathes where it will, and speaks to everyone, priests, kings, peoples. It says to the guardians of holy tradition: 'You are entrusted with no dead, inert tradition; the revelation of the living God and of His Christ cannot be a book closed and sealed. Christ is not merely a past fact, He is above all the principle of the future, of free movement, of true progress. You hold the deposit of faith; is that a capital to be locked away or buried? You are the Lord's faithful stewards who will not imitate the over-prudent servant of the Gospel parable and make Christ's doctrine nothing but a *fait accompli*. In doctrine too—is it not His truth?—Christ is Principle and Corner-Stone. Make, then, Christian dogma the firm but broad foundation, the inflexible but living principle of all philosophy and of every science. Do not coop it up in an enclosed preserve,

do not make it indifferent or hostile to the thought and knowledge of men. Theology is the divine science, but the Christian God has united Himself to man in an indissoluble union. The theology of the God-Man may not be separated from the philosophy and the science of man. You are orthodox in your profession of faith, you cast aside the heresy of Nestorius, like that of Eutyches : then be orthodox in the application of your faith. Exploit the truth of Christ in the intellectual sphere of Christendom by distinguishing the two natures without separating them, by maintaining in your thought and doctrine the interior, organic, living union of divine and human, without confusion or division. Beware of slipping into Nestorianism by acknowledging two sciences and two truths, complete in themselves and independent one of the other. But beware of Monophysitism too, do not attempt to suppress human truth, philosophical reason, the facts of natural and historical science ; do not exaggerate their importance, but do not make a point of rejecting their certain evidence in the name of Christian dogma : an unreasonable sacrifice which incarnate Reason does not demand and cannot accept.

‘Fathers of re-born humanity, the absolute principle of knowledge is not your only trust : you also hold the principle of the social order. Here too you must be true Orthodox, you must tread the royal road between the opposite heresies : the false liberalism of Nestorianism and the false pietism of the Monophysites. One wishes to cut off the State from the Church, the profane from the sacred, as Nestorius cut off Christ’s humanity from His divinity. The other wishes to absorb our soul in divine contemplation, leaving this earthly world, with its States and nations, to its fate ; the social application of Monophysitism, which submerges Christ’s human nature in His divine being. But you, Orthodox pontiffs, have the true Christological doctrine, the infallible formula of the free and perfect union ; you will ever uphold the close bond which links man’s State to God’s Church, as Christ’s humanity was linked to the divine Word. Should the State turn absolutist, try to be atheist and pagan, you will not combat it with an absolute clericalism shut up in itself and pleased with its isolation—you will not fight error with a half-truth. You will uphold the absolute social truth which demands at the Church’s side the Christian State, the Kingship of Christ, symbol of the divine Sonship, as you yourselves are the symbol of the eternal Fatherhood. You will never submit to the secular power, for the Father cannot submit to the Son, but you will make no attempt to enslave it, for the Son is free.

'Priests and Pontiffs, you are the ministers of Christ's sacraments. In the domain of the Revelation, Christ is the principle of all truths and of all truth. For truth is one in its essence, infinitely multiple in its material content, and triple in its constituent form—theological, philosophical, and scientific; just as Christ is one in His hypostasis, infinitely multiple because He contains and manifests the ideal cosmos, triple because He unites the divine substance to man's rational soul and to material corporeity. The same holds good in the domain of the Sacraments: Christ is the principle of all lives and of all life—not only of spiritual and individual life, but also of corporal and social life. You were established to offer sacrifice, to deposit in humanity the mystical but real seed of the divino-human life; you sow in our nature divinised matter, the heavenly corporeity. The beginning of this work, the first welling-up of supernatural life in the body of earthly humanity must be an event of an absolute nature, surpassing man's reason—a mystery. But all mysteries must express themselves: the mystical elements which the grace of the sacraments implants in human nature through your ministry, must germinate, must grow, must manifest themselves in humanity's visible existence, that is in its social life, by transforming it more and more into a true body of Christ. Therefore this work of sanctification does not belong to the priesthood alone: it demands the co-operation of the Christian State and of Christian society. What the priest begins by his mysterious rite, the secular prince must continue by his legislation, and the people accomplish in its life.'"

THE CHALDAEAN LITURGY

(continued).

NOTE ON THE OMISSION OF THE RECITAL OF THE INSTITUTION
IN THE ANAPHORA OF THE APOSTLES.

THE Post-Sanctus in the Anaphora of Theodore and in that of Bickell's sixth century fragment (Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-515, revised by Dom R. H. Connolly in *Oriens Christianus*, N.S. XII, 1925) consists of two prayers, and thus it is possible, though perhaps not very probable, that the one containing the account of the Last Supper has dropped out in the Anaphora of the Apostles; that of Nestorius has only one prayer. The S.P.C.K. translation of 1893, made from the Syriac of the Anaphora of the Apostles printed by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission, inserts the account of the Supper immediately before the ecphonesis "And for all thine helps," and adds in a footnote

“It is thought that they (viz., the Words of Institution) were always recited, and it is at this part of the service that they are found in the other East Syrian liturgies.” This is the usual explanation. But if the Words of our Lord were recited, there could have been no reason for not writing them; they occur in the other two Anaphoras, and invoking the Discipline of the Secret, as is sometimes done in order to get out of the difficulty, is a counsel of despair. It is certain that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were not said by the Nestorians, as is proved by their insertion, of all places, in the middle of the Fraction in the Mass-book of the Malabar Syrians and in that of Joseph I in 1697. In the case of Malabar this insertion was not made by the Synod of Diamper at all, but by a bishop sent by John Sulaqa or by one of his successors (v. PAX, October, 1935, p. 161). The following formula is found in the text of the Mass as it was before the Diamper revision, annexed to the Acts of the Synod:—*Gloria nomini tuo sancto . . . vivunt in aeternum* (as in the 1901 Missal). *Dominus noster Iesus Christus in illa nocte qua tradebatur accepit panem hunc sanctum in sanctas ac puras manus suas et elevavit oculos suos in caelum et gratias egit Deo Patri omnium rerum creatori et benedixit ac fregit deditque discipulis suis et dixit: Accipite et comedite ex hoc pane omnes vos, hoc est in veritate corpus meum. Similiter postquam caenavit accepit hunc calicem manibus suis puris et gratias egit et benedixit et dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite omnes vos ex hoc calice, quotiescumque enim comedieritis panem hunc et biberitis hunc calicem mei memoriam recoletis. Hic est in veritate calix sanguinis mei qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in debitorum propitiationem et in peccatorum remissionem, et hoc erit vobis pignus in saecula saeculorum.*

The formula is not derived from the Latin Rite, at least immediately. “*Calix sanguinis mei*” is Roman, but occurs also in various Maronite Anaphoras (Renaudot, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 135, 156, 164).

The Chaldaean Missals of Joseph I of 1697 (*ib.*, II, p. 593) and of 1767 also have the Institution at the Fraction, but not exactly in the same position as in Malabar, being inserted before and not after “Praise to thine holy name.” The formula in that of 1767 begins “Glory to thee, O God the Father, who didst send thine only-begotten Son for our salvation. And he on the day before his Passion took bread in his holy hands” (as in the 1901 Missal) “. . . For this is my Body. And in the same manner after they had supped he took in his pure hands this pure chalice. . . . For this is the chalice of my Blood of the new eternal Testament, it is the mystery of faith,

which for you . . . sins. Whensoever . . . remembering." From "And he" to "sins" this is taken directly from the Maronite form now in use.

It can be argued quite plausibly that the Recital of the Institution never existed in the Anaphora of the Apostles. Its absence can be accounted for by the Eastern doctrine that the consecration is effected by the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and indeed in some more recent Jacobite Anaphoras for the same reason, though the account of the Supper has been retained, the actual Words of Institution have been suppressed, as for example in the Anaphora of Dionysius bar Salibi; this also seems to be the case in Bickell's fragment above referred to. This view implies that the Anaphora of the Apostles in its present state is not of the extreme antiquity commonly attributed to it. Parts, no doubt, are most ancient, such as the very undeveloped Epiclesis, the most simple in any Liturgy now in use. The Post-sanctus, however, beginning "With these heavenly hosts" cannot be really ancient as it is addressed to God the Son and not to the Father. Against this it may be urged that in the Syriac St. James and in the Monophysite Liturgies in general the Anamnesis is addressed to the Son. A similar phenomenon exists in the Coptic Liturgies. This, however, is not the case in the Greek St. James and St. Mark, and moreover the prayer under discussion has no vestige of an Anamnesis.

With respect to the supposed antiquity of the Anaphora of the Apostles it is noteworthy that the oldest exposition of the Mass, that of Narsai, deals with an Anaphora of a type similar to that of Nestorius, as is clearly shown by Dom R. H. Connolly (*The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. lvi, lvii, lxx—lxxvii), the Ordinary of the Mass described being that in which the present Anaphoras are inserted or rather its ancestor. The same is true of "George of Arbel," in whose work the g'hanta corresponding to "And with these heavenly hosts" seems to be that of the Liturgy of Nestorius (Connolly, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 84). Timothy II (1318—1328) in his *Liber de septem causis sacramentorum ecclesiasticorum*, cap. IV, sect. 14, explains why the prayers in the Mass are addressed to the Father; on this J. S. Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, III i, p. 578) says: "Id prae caeteris Liturgiis in ea clare affirmat, quae Nestorii nomen praefert." All this seems to show that in the minds of the ancients the Anaphora of the Apostles was not considered to be the norm.

The present Missal of 1901 has the Institution approximately in its correct position, a reform which took place many decades ago. The insertion, shown above in square brackets, is partly taken from the Third Anaphora, but contains much

of the 1767 formula. It is addressed to God the Father, though the g'hanta, in which it is inserted, is to the Son. Among the Nestorians the Words of our Lord in the other Anaphoras apparently are said secretly.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR.

The year is divided into nine periods. Each is styled shabho'a, which literally means "a set of seven," that is of seven weeks. These nine are: 1, Advent to Epiphany; 2, Epiphany and the following Sundays; 3, Lent; 4, Paschal time; 5, Apostles; 6, Summer; 7, Elias; 8, Moses; and 9, the Hallowing of the Church. In the case of the last there are only four weeks, and, as we shall see, the Sundays of Moses, at most four, can be eliminated altogether if Easter is late.

The ecclesiastical year begins with four Sundays of the "Annunciation" (Subara, or Advent), of which the first is that nearest to December 1st (Kanon I); each is followed by a Friday. Then comes the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord. On the second Friday after Christmas is the memorial of our Lady, or if there be only one between Christmas and Epiphany on that Friday. The Epiphany is on January 6th. On the following Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the Missal provides Masses for the Supplication of the Virgins, a fast now obsolete among the Chaldaeans. It commemorates the prayers of certain nuns in danger of their chastity at the hands of a king and his death in the very night in which he proposed to carry out his purpose. The Friday after Epiphany is the memorial of St. John Baptist. Masses are provided for eight Sundays after Epiphany and the Fridays following them. On certain Fridays memorials are kept. Thus on the second Friday after Epiphany is that of Sts. Peter and Paul; on the third, that of the Evangelists; on the fourth, that of St. Stephen; on the fifth, that of the Greek Doctors; on the sixth, that of St. Ephraim and other Syrian Doctors; on the seventh, that of "one person," that is the patron of the church; and according to the Missal, on the eighth, that of the departed. The Breviary, however, has the Forty Martyrs on the eighth and the departed on the ninth Friday. On the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of the third week before Lent is the Supplication of Ninive, a fast recalling the preaching of the prophet Jonas. The following Thursday is "of thanksgiving."

The Fast or Lent consists of seven weeks including Holy Week; it begins on our Quinquagesima Sunday. On the sixth Sunday is the memorial of the archangel Michael. The seventh Sunday is the Feast of Hosannas; Maundy Thursday is the Thursday of the Pasch, Good Friday the Friday of the

Passion, and Holy Saturday Great Saturday. The week after the Resurrection is the Week of weeks ; its Friday is that of the Confessors, the martyrs under Shapur. Low Sunday is New Sunday. The other Sundays of the Resurrection with their Fridays follow. On the Monday after the third Sunday is the memorial of mar Adhor Hormezd the martyr (A.D. 339), and on the fifth Sunday that of mar Addai the apostle. Then come the Ascension and the Sunday after it, each with its Friday.

Pentecost Sunday is followed by the Friday of Gold, commemorating the healing of the lame man by St. Peter and St. John. The next Sunday is the second of the Apostles, Pentecost being the first ; of this series there are seven Sundays and seven Fridays. On the last Friday is the memorial of the seventy-two disciples.

Next comes the Sunday of the end of the shabho'a of the Apostles and the first of Summer, on which day is the memorial of the twelve Apostles. There are seven Sundays of Summer given in the Missal, each with its Friday. On the first Friday is the memorial of St. James of Nisibis (A.D. 338) ; on the second, that of mar Mari the apostle ; on the fifth, that of Sh'moni and her children, martyrs, namely the Maccabees ; on the sixth, that of Simeon bar Sabba'e and his companions, martyrs (A.D. 339) ; on the seventh "of the end of the shabho'a of Summer," that of mar Qardagh, martyr (A.D. 358).

Before the Feast of the Cross (September 14th), according to the Missal, are three Sundays of Elias with their Fridays ; on the first Friday is the memorial of mar Papa and his companions, catholici. After the Cross come four Sundays and Fridays of the Cross, also numbered the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh of Elias. On the last Friday is the memorial of the prophet Elias. Then follow in the Missal four Sundays and Fridays of Moses, and last of all four Sundays and Fridays of the Hallowing of the Church. Of these last the first Sunday is that nearest November 1st (Teshrin II) ; on the first Friday is the memorial of mar Awgen (Eugenius), the reputed introducer of monasticism (ob. A.D. 363), and his companions.

In addition to the above there are feasts and memorials on fixed days, namely :—Immaculate Conception, December 8th ; Innocents, December 27th ; Circumcision (feast), January 1st ; Entrance of our Lord into the temple (feast), February 2nd ; Forty Martyrs, March 9th ; St. Joseph, March 19th ; Annunciation, March 25th ; St. George, April 23rd (in the Missal of 1767, April 24th, and so still observed in practice) ; our Lady, "for the protection of the seeds," May 15th ; Visitation of our Lady, June 21st ; Sts. Peter and Paul, June 29th ; St. Thomas the Apostle, July 3rd ; Cyriac and his mother Julitta, July 15th ; Transfiguration (feast), August 6th ; Assumption

of our Lady, August 15th; her Nativity, September 8th; the venerable Cross, September 14th (in 1767, the Finding of the Cross, September 13th); mar Pethyon, martyr (A.D. 447), October 25th; and St. James Intercisus, martyred in A.D. 421, November 27th. Movable are Corpus Christi (feast) on the second Thursday of the Apostles, and the Sacred Heart on the third Friday of the same. Not in the Missal but kept in practice are St. Barbara, December 4th; St. Nicholas, December 6th; St. John Baptist, January 7th; and St. Stephen, January 8th. These are not observed by the Nestorians and apparently have been borrowed from West Syrian usage.

It will be noted that festivals are divided into two classes only, to wit "feasts," which are of the Lord, and "memorials" of saints. The only exception to this is the festival of the Sacred Heart, of course of modern introduction, which is in the second class. Both "feasts" and "memorials" have proper Masses.

The year, as elsewhere, is governed by Easter. If this is late, there may be as many as nine Fridays after Epiphany; if early, as few as four. According to the Breviary if there be eight Fridays or less, the memorial of the Forty Martyrs is transferred to March 9th; if seven or less, that of Sts. Peter and Paul also is omitted; if six or less, in addition that of St. Stephen is translated to the first Sunday, though in practice it is kept on January 8th; if five or less, that of the Baptist is left out as well; if four only, there is only one memorial of Doctors, namely, that of the Greek and Syrian Doctors combined. Whatever the number of Fridays, there are always kept the memorials of the four Evangelists, of "one person," and of the departed.

The memorial of St. John Baptist is celebrated on the first Friday, provided that this day falls on January 7th. Otherwise the first Friday is kept as a "simple" day.

The number of the Sundays of Moses also depends on the date of Easter. If this is late, the whole shabho'a may be eliminated.

The first Sunday of Elias must always fall before Holy Cross day. Thus if by dead reckoning it should fall on or after September 14th, there are only six and not seven weeks of Summer. If similarly it should fall before September 14th, there may be as many as four Sundays of Elias before the feast of the Cross, in which case the Mass provided for the sixth of Elias or the third of the Cross is said on the fourth Sunday.

The fasts now observed by the Chaldaeans are:—nine days before Christmas; the three days of the Supplication of Ninive; Lent; ten days before Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29th); and five days before the Assumption. With some exceptions Wednesdays and Fridays are days of abstinence.

In conclusion I desire to express my great indebtedness to the Revd. Fr. Raphael Rabban of Mosul. Without his generous assistance I should have found it impossible to give an accurate account of the liturgical practice actually in use among the Chaldaeans, the printed books not being a safe guide and in some cases even misleading. Those interested in the Rite are recommended to read his "La Messa Caldea detta degli Apostoli," printed by the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, Rome, in 1935, price 1 lira.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER.

As is well known, the assertion is commonly made that the order of the Malabar recension of the East Syrian Liturgy was dislocated by the Synod of Diamper presided over by the Archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Menezes, in 1599. This assertion could never have been made by anyone who had taken the trouble to read the Acts of the Synod. As pointed out by me in *PAX*, October 1935, pp. 160 ff., the alterations ordered were confined to verbal changes made with a view to purging the text of real or supposed Nestorianisms, and the Synod issued no decree whatsoever affecting the relative order of the different parts of the Mass. Nevertheless the text of the Liturgy appended to the Acts of the Synod by Gouvea and after him by Raulin is seriously out of the proper order, judged by the printed Nestorian and Chaldaean books. It is this fact, doubtless, which has led various writers to blame the Synod of Diamper. In my article above referred to I suggested that the cause of the dislocation, apparent only as it does not occur in the Malabar printed books, was due to the sheets of the copy before the Synod having been bound up in the wrong order. This order is peculiar. It is correct from the beginning of the Mass to the Trisagion inclusive and from the Creed to the end, the Institution being inserted as stated in the Note attached above to the description of the Chaldaean Mass. But after the Trisagion we find the litany (Brightman, 262, 4—266, 11). During this the priest incenses the paten, veil, and chalice. He then mixes the chalice, places it on the south side of the altar, goes to the north side where he places the bukhra on the paten,¹ then lifts the paten with both hands and carries it to the middle of the altar, and lastly takes the chalice in his right hand and crossing his hands says "Expectans expectavi Dominum. Corpus Christi et sanguis eius pretiosus" (267, 30). The deacon continues: "Edent pauperes et saturabuntur. Corpus Christi" (268, 3), and ends

¹ Cf. the Nestorian printed books (Brightman, p. 251). The paten is in the recess in the north wall or beth gazza; the chalice is mixed in the diaconicon-baptistery on the south of the sanctuary.

with "Oremus. Pax nobiscum" (267, 37). The priest says silently: "Offeratur et gloria immoletur Trinitati tuae" and "Christus qui oblatus est" (268, 2, 4), and placing the oblation on the altar "Constituantur et ordinentur mysteria haec" (268, 15). He then continues aloud, "Gloria. Super altare sanctum" (268, 10) more or less as in the Chaldaean Rite and covers the oblation saying "Amictus es lumine sicut vestimento et extendisti caelum sicut cortinam, nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum." While the priest washes his hands the deacon says the third part of the litany (266, 13). Then follow the prayer of the litany, the inclination and the dismissals (266, 36—267, 28). Next come the prayer before the Apostle (256, 30), the Epistle, two prayers before the Gospel (258, 6 and a variant of 258, 17), and the Gospel. This is followed by the Creed, after which all is as usual.

The Epistle and Gospel with their prayers obviously are in the wrong place. Whether the rest did not accord with actual practice as it stands appears to me doubtful in view of the account of the Nestorian Liturgy given by G. P. Badger in *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, 1852, vol. II, pp. 218 ff. According to him after the Gospel, whilst the deacon is reciting the litany, the priest takes the paten and chalice from the prothesis (beth gazza) and says the anthem "The poor shall eat and be satisfied. The Body of Christ and his precious Blood," etc., which is repeated. The priest then takes the chalice in his right hand and the paten in his left, and crossing his arms says the two prayers mentioned above and "By thy command these glorious . . . Mysteries are set and ordered," etc. He covers the Mysteries and continues, "Glory. On the holy altar" and the rest as in the Chaldaean Rite, and then gives the cross and gospel to the deacons (268, 32—34). The litany being ended, there follow its prayer, the inclination and the dismissals. The veil is now drawn aside and the appointed Anthem (of the Mysteries) is sung by the deacons and people and repeated by the priest (268, 35). The priest descends from the altar, salutes the deacons (269, 37) and approaching the door bows down and says "With our hearts sprinkled," and standing in front of the altar recites the Creed.

The resemblance of Badger's order to that of the Diamper text is striking. Both disagree with the books, but so does modern Chaldaean practice. It is possible, therefore, that the only divergence from usage in the Diamper text is that affecting the Epistle and Gospel, a dislocation which surely cannot be intentional. As indicated in PAX the text of this Angamalai Mass does not seem to be purely Malabar; the bishops of this see were not appointed locally, but were sent from "Babylon."

H. W. CODRINGTON.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE.—It is obvious that to give a complete chronicle of events is an impossibility, if only on account of space. We then only attempt to record certain events, some quite short notices, others of considerable length. It is hoped that in this way, together with the information to be found regularly in *News and Comments*, readers will be kept in touch with all the outstanding news connected with the question of the Eastern Churches.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

ROME.

H. E. Cardinal Tisserant, the Secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, was consecrated bishop in St. Peter's on July 25th by the Cardinal Secretary of State as special delegate of the Pope. This honour conferred on Cardinal Tisserant has been received everywhere with enthusiasm. THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY also offers congratulations.

On December 6th, 1936, Mgr. Evreinov was elevated to the titular see of Pionia. He had been the Rector of the Russian Catholics in Paris since 1928.

On April 22nd, His Blessedness Mar Peter Antony 'Arida, Maronite Patriarch of Antioch, left Beirut for Egypt and Europe. He was received by the Holy Father, this being his first visit "ad limina Apostolorum" since election as Patriarch five years ago.

On June 27th, at the Church of St. Anthony Abbot in Rome, Bishop Evreinov ordained to the priesthood Father John Milner, an English Jesuit of the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite. Following an appeal to the Holy See to religious orders for men to transfer to the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite, the Father General of the Jesuits sent a circular to the various provinces of the Society with the result that already twelve Jesuits have transferred to the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite, from England, Spain, Belgium and America. The three Englishmen are Fathers John Ryder, Frederick Wilcock and John Milner. At present there are fifty-three Jesuits belonging to the Oriental Rite, besides many others who are being prepared for transference, and it is hoped to provide annually five recruits among the great number of volunteers for the mission. Poland has three establishments in connection with the Jesuit mission to Russia; houses at Albertyn, Wilno and Dubno.

THE CATHOLIC MELKITE PATRIARCHATE.

The reunion movement among the Orthodox, especially in the Patriarchate of Antioch, which began in 1931, continues. Land has been bought in the villages of Hine, 'Ain Ashsha'ara

and Darayya, and Catholic Churches of the Byzantine Rite are being built there. The Catholic Melkite Patriarchate has opened a subscription for the building of churches in Cairo, at Heliopolis, at Azzeitun, Raml-Iskandariah, Port Said, Bethlehem, Ramallah and the above-mentioned villages. The Missionaries of St. Paul have been very active in helping on this movement, and since 1931 had been aided in their apostolic labours by a group of ladies who worked under the direction of the Fathers in the Valley of the Christians (in Arabic "Wady en-Nassarah"), in the north-east of the eparchy of Tripoli in the Lebanon. In 1936, these ladies received the religious habit under the title of "Melkite Nuns of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour." The house of their noviciate is at Harissa in the eparchy of Beirut, at a short distance from the house of the Fathers, to whom their founder, the Lord Maximos Sayizh, Metropolitan of Beirut, has confided their direction.

SYRIAN CATHOLICS.

On Sunday, October 4th, 1936, in the Church of Saint George in Beirut (formerly the Patriarchal residence), His Eminence Cardinal Tappouni, the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, consecrated Mar Basilios Ephrem Higari as titular Bishop of Amasra and Patriarchal Vicar for the Lebanon.

Mar Basilios Ephrem was born on September 8th, 1881, and studied in the Dominican Fathers' Syro-Chaldean Seminary in Mossul from 1893 to 1904.

In 1904 he was ordained priest, and from 1905 to 1908 was secretary to the late Patriarch, Mar Ignatios Ephrem II Rahmani.

He was Patriarchal Vicar at Nabk in Syria from 1908 to 1912.

From 1912 to 1921 he was Superior of the Patriarchal Seminary of Sharfeh in the Lebanon.

In 1921 he became Archpriest of Beirut, and from then onwards exercised his apostolic zeal among the Jacobite emigrants from Adana and Edessa, many of whom returned to Catholic unity.

In the name of the Patriarch he visited Upper Mesopotamia in 1933.

The Catholic Syrian Patriarchal Vicariate of the Lebanon has during the last few years increased in importance on account of the stablishment there of Christians, both Catholic and dissident, of the Antiochene Rite, formerly resident on Turkish territory. Many of these speak the modern Aramaic dialect known as "Torani."

During the present year there has begun among the Jacobites of Jerusalem and Bethlehem a movement towards

Catholicism. There are at present 100 families (about 600 persons) who desire to return to Catholic unity.

CATHOLICISM IN MALABAR AMONG CHRISTIANS OF THE ANTIOCHENE RITE.

The first group of returns to Catholic unity numbered 10,186 persons. In 1934 these increased to 19,000. Recently three priests (one of whom was secretary to the dissident bishop) have become Catholic. In the eparchy of Trivandrum of Mar Ivanios there are 59 priests, 27 monks and 17 nuns. In 1934 Mar Ivanios built six churches, four secondary schools, 28 missions and 50 elementary schools with 5,000 pupils, both Catholic and dissident.

MARONITES.

In November, 1936, the Rt. Rev. Dom Anselm Chibas-Lassalle, titular Abbot of Our Lady of the Valley of Josaphat and Prior of the Monastery of SS. Benedict and Ephrem on the Mount of Olives, was appointed by the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, Visitor of the Maronite Monastic Congregations. The visit began in December, 1936, and finished in July, 1937.

The Maronite priests in Johannesburg have lately opened a church unique so far as South Africa is concerned, since it is the only one in the country where the Liturgy is celebrated according to an Eastern rite. These Fathers have the spiritual care of about three thousand Syrian Catholics, and with the exception of the Gospel and the sermon, for which Arabic is employed, the liturgical offices are carried out in Syrian.

ARMENIAN CATHOLICS.

On November 15th, 1936, Mgr. Pedros Kididjian received episcopal consecration as Catholic Armenian Patriarchal Vicar in Beirut.

Mgr. Pedros was born at Istambul in 1890, and studied in Rome. He was ordained priest in 1913, and was appointed by the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, Patriarchal Vicar in Paris in 1927.

RUMANIA.

The Metropolitan see of Fagaras and Alba Julia (Blaj), having remained vacant for some time after the death of Archbishop Suci, is now filled by Mgr. Alexander Nicolescu, who was Bishop of Lugoj. He was chosen by the Synod and received the approval of the Holy See.

Mgr. Joan Balan has been named Bishop of Lugoj.

The Assumptionist Fathers are moving their famous Oriental Library from Constantinople to Bucarest.

THE YUGOSLAVIA CONCORDAT.

The Church of England Council on Foreign Relations has issued their *Second Survey on the affairs of the Orthodox Church*. In dealing with the Yugoslavia Concordat they print the Bishop of Gloucester's criticism in *The Times* of May 4th, 1937. In the American Episcopalian journal *The Living Church*, the Rev. Canon W. A. Wigram deals with the same subject. Both these authorities voice the opinions that the Concordat will place Catholics, who are a minority, in a privileged and dominant position in Yugoslavia, the majority of whose Christian population belong to the Orthodox Church. We here give a brief account of the situation.

That this situation is full of complications can be seen by recounting those who formed the opposing sides in May. "On one side are the Catholics, the Croats, the Slovenes, the Prince Regent, the Government and the Hungarian minorities. On the other side are the Communists, the Serbian Orthodox, the Freemasons, the Fascists and the Nazis supported by Germany." (vide William Teeling in *The Tablet*, May 22nd.)

In July the Lower house of Parliament accepted the ratification of the Concordat with the Holy See by a majority of 167—129 votes. (vide *The Tablet*, July 31st.)

First then as to what the Bishop of Gloucester calls "one-sided privileges." The Catholic education settlement is the most important question. In all State schools throughout the country wherever the majority of the children are Catholics, the majority of the teachers must be of the same faith. It also lays down that the compulsory religious education in every school where there are Catholic children, however small their number, shall be arranged for by a Catholic priest. The State could formerly grant a permit for the erection of a Catholic school, now it gives complete liberty to the Church to build schools where it likes and when. Such safeguarding of the religious education of Catholics is to be expected as fundamental in any Concordat with the Holy See.

That the Church should want to judge its own priests, the Bishop says, "implies a revival of the medieval benefit of the clergy, which is, I believe, unparalleled in any other country of the world." One wonders whether this is so! Mr. Teeling's remark in *The Tablet* however should be pondered. "There are five separate laws already operating in Yugoslavia to satisfy former customs, *i.e.*, Bosnian Law, Serb Law, Croatian Law, Slovene Law and Montenegrin Law, why not another and quite a good law, Canon Law for Catholic priests."

But a Concordat is a compromise between two parties to their mutual advantage. What does the State gain and why?

The State settles all Catholic questions once and for all on the principle of absolute equality of rights. It gains thereby the effect of a moral consolidation of the nation; it gives it a say in the choice of bishops, who accept an oath of allegiance. (vide *The Tablet*, July 31st.) From the criticisms one would imagine that the Catholic Church was about to start an *imperium in imperio*. In actual fact the history of the Concordat proves the exact opposite. The Government is rewarding the Church for past support and trusting it a long way, and the Church in return is running the risk of alienating its Croat and Slovene supporters by offering to support the Government. (vide *The Tablet*, May 22nd.)

The idea of the Concordat goes back to the time when the late King Alexander was determined to reward his Croat and Slovene subjects who had rallied round him in a time of crisis. It was actually concluded at the Vatican on July 25th, 1935, and King Alexander is supposed to have initialled the draft, but he was assassinated in the autumn of 1934.

When the opposition has died down and if the new Patriarch is a man of vision, and also if the Catholic authorities act with real understanding, both of which desiderata are likely, the Concordat will prove not only a means of consolidating the State but it should pave the way for a closer contact between Orthodox and Catholics in Yugoslavia.

The Catholics form a strong and united minority; thirty-seven per cent of the total population.

THE SITUATION IN SYRIA AND EGYPT.

On June 17th, 1936, a treaty was concluded between France and Syria. According to this treaty Syria becomes independent. This event has caused considerable anxiety to the Christian minorities in the country (especially in Upper Jezireh), surrounded by an overwhelming Moslem majority. Certain regrettable incidents have taken place, such as the attempt to burn the Catholic Syrian Archiepiscopal palace in Damascus in 1936, the public insult offered to the Maronite Archbishop of Aleppo, and the assassination of a certain number of Christians. Mar Ya'kub Hebbe, Catholic Syrian Patriarchal Vicar in Upper Jezireh, has drawn upon himself the hatred of the nationalists, simply for having defended the rights of the Christians.

On November 13th, 1936, was signed the Franco-Libanese Treaty. This treaty gives full satisfaction to the Christian majority in the Lebanon, who live in peace.

In October, 1936, a military "coup d'état" overthrew the existing government of Bagdad. We learn that the new

government is more tolerant towards the Christians than its predecessor, the fanatically Moslem government of Yassin Pasha. On the other hand we have been informed that the present government manifests certain communist tendencies.

On account of certain serious events, especially the massacre of Nestorians, the League of Nations authorised the French Government to establish in Syria 4,300 Nestorian refugees from 'Iraq. For over a year these Christians have been living on the banks of the River Khabur in the villages built for them, and other Christian refugees have joined them there. Their exact number is uncertain, but we know that their present situation is not to be envied.

We think it fitting here to add a quotation from a speech of Canon Wigram's reported in *The Christian East* (Vol. XVI, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 105). Speaking of the way the British Government has treated these Christian people, he says:—

“ We gave our promise and we broke it—for our convenience. We used these people till the Arabs hated them—again for our convenience. We gave up the mandate which was to protect them—again at our convenience! Will it be possible to say that our national shield is clean until we have redeemed our word and given these people a home where they can live? ”

In Egypt, the conference of Montreux, 12th April to 9th May, 1937, put an end to the Capitulations.

During the past four centuries, the Christians of Egypt, like all those of the Ottoman Empire, lived under the régime of the Capitulations. As in the other countries of the former Ottoman Empire, in Egypt this régime has now come to an end. It would be premature to say what the consequences will be for the Christians. We notice, however, that in all countries where the pan-Arab movement is gaining in strength (Egypt, 'Iraq and Syria), Christians are systematically removed from official posts, and can devote themselves only to commerce and certain liberal professions.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF ORTHODOX THEOLOGIANs. (Athens, November 29th to December 3rd, 1936.)

We have already given a certain amount of space to the consideration of this Congress (EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY, April), but the event is so important that further notice should be taken.

In the April issue we published comments on the Congress entirely from Orthodox sources, here, except for reference to

an appreciation of its work from Professor Zankov, of the Theological Faculty of the University of Sofia, we give information from some of the Catholic periodicals that have reported on these conferences at Athens.

We understand that there were several Catholic *observers* present at the Congress besides other guests from Germany and Switzerland, and some members of the Anglican Communion.

The *Echos d'Orient* (April—June, 1937), *Irenikon* (January—February, 1937), and *Russie et Chrétienté* (January—March, 1937), all deal with the Congress very fully.

The *Echos d'Orient* reported Professor Alivisatos's opening speech to the effect that the reasons why the Orthodox Churches were not so united as could be desired were traceable to the Iconoclastic quarrels, the ninth century and subsequent schisms, and the fall of Constantinople which rendered spiritual development impossible. Then the nineteenth century aggravated disunion by the growth of nationalism and the formation of autocephalous Churches. The writer comments that the autocephalous movement is in itself productive of disunity.

Père Dumont, in *Russie et Chrétienté*, says that the feeling of interest in current problems evinced by the Congress shows signs of the beginning of a new movement with fresh and great possibilities, comparable to the tendency, especially intellectual, in Russia before the War.

All three reviews pay special attention to the theologian's discussions on the theory of *Sobornost*. The *Echos* summarises the speeches thus:—Professor Bratsiotos (Athens) acclaimed that the Orthodox Church preserves a perfect balance in her synodal organization between the influence of the laity and that of the clergy; nationalism was destructive of the Church's unity. Father Bulgakov (Paris) presented his theory of the Church as set forth in his published works. The Archimandrite Skriban (Rumania) attacked the too great influence of the laity, and condemned the theory of *Sobornost*; he insisted on the Church being ruled by the hierarchy. Father Florovsky (Paris) said that the council of Bishops was not infallible, the laity had frequently saved Orthodoxy betrayed by the bishops.

The matters discussed at the other conferences may well be referred to the April number of the EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY.

The *Echos* states that the Greek Church was originally against the holding of the Congress. However, the Archbishop of Athens was in attendance at all the conferences. It also states that the attitude throughout the Congress, with a single exception, was one of friendliness to Catholics.

Dr. Zankov (reported in *Second Survey on the affairs of the Orthodox Church*, S.P.C.K.), states that the idea of the Congress

was raised by the Orthodox members of the meeting of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, held at Copenhagen in 1922. The plan took further actual shape at the ensuing œcumenical conferences held in Stockholm in 1925, Lausanne in 1927 and Cambridge in 1931. And at Chamby in 1935, the decision was adopted to summon the conference in Athens and to entrust the drafting of the programme (for which see April EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY) to a committee composed of representatives of the theological faculties of all the Orthodox Churches. He also states that the treatment of questions discussed was worked out in as close as possible a relationship to the Œcumenical Movement.

The Conference adopted the following proposal of Professor Zankov :—"The Conference sees in the Œcumenical Movement for Faith and Order and in the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work immediate signs of general, deepened interest in the Church and in theology, and expresses its readiness to co-operate in these movements in the spirit of the Orthodox Faith."

THE PATRIARCHATE OF ALEXANDRIA.

The election of the new Patriarch Nicolas Evangelidis in March, 1937, caused a conflict between the Arab and Greek elements of the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

In order to put an end to the claims of the Egyptian element, the Greek bishops, supported by the Consul of Greece, sent in a protest to the Government. The Arab element replied by another protest, insisting upon the following points :—

- (1) the appointment of an Egyptian patriarch ;
- (2) that in the patriarchal election the interests of the native element be henceforth safeguarded ;
- (3) that the statutes of the Patriarchal Tribunals be revised ;
- (4) that a bishop be appointed for the Egyptian element ;
- (5) that the Egyptian element take an active part in the superintendence of the "wagfs" and property of the Patriarchate.

The Holy Synod held an assembly and declared :—

- (1) that the personal statute for the elections had been made with the agreement of the native element, which had already an Arabic-speaking tribunal ;
- (2) that the committee for the administration of the "wagfs" was composed of four members, one of whom was a native ;
- (3) that it (the Holy Synod) had no objection to the election of a native bishop, provided that the Arab element paid the expenses ;
- (4) that all the Patriarchs up to the present had adopted Egyptian nationality ;
- (5) the Holy Synod refused that the Government interfere in the codification of the regulations for the election of the Patriarch, as this was a purely ecclesiastical matter.

The financial situation is unsatisfactory, on account of the debts contracted by the late Patriarch Meletios Metaxakis.

A decree of King Faruk, dated April 2nd, 1937, declared : That the Lord Nicolas Evangelidis, Orthodox Archbishop of Hermopolis, is appointed Patriarch of Alexandria in the stead of the deceased Meletios Metaxakis.

The Government has thus given partial consideration to the claims of the native Arab element, because it has stipulated that the Patriarch, although of Greek origin, be of Egyptian nationality.

THE PATRIARCHATE OF ANTIOCH.

Many efforts have been made to unite the Higher Clergy, divided since the death of the Patriarch Haddad, on the question of the choice of his successor.

Suddenly it was learned that Archbishop Epiphaneios Zayid had bestowed upon himself the title of "Blessedness, head of the Independent Eastern Orthodox Church." He chose to represent him in Beirut the Lord Photios Khury, titular bishop of Palmyra. He conferred the episcopal chirotony upon the archimandrite Ghrighorios Tabar.

According to the newspapers, the committee of the Independent Eastern Orthodox Church assembled at Tripoli in the Lebanon, sent to the League of Nations a petition containing complaints against the Patriarch Alexandros Tahhan as well as against the Mandatory Power which had refused to recognize their church. The League of Nations sent back the petition, "because it did not see the need for sending a private recommendation of such a nature to the League of Nations." Moderate members of the Orthodox Church are trying to find a satisfactory solution of this conflict. An Orthodox congress, composed chiefly of laymen, was held in Beirut, and decided the following points :—

- (1) annulment of the patriarchal decree deposing Bishop Epiphaneios and ordering his internment in a monastery ;
- (2) transfer of an Orthodox bishop to the vacant eparchy of Homs ;
- (3) appointment of Bishop Epiphaneios to one of the eparchies on the coast, especially Tripoli ;
- (4) reform of the ecclesiastical laws regulating relations between bishops, so as to avoid such conflicts in future.

PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM.

For several centuries there have been racial and linguistic differences between the people and the bishops. The people are native Arabic speakers, whereas the bishops are purely Greek. The English Government laid down as a condition for the election of the new Patriarch, the Lord Timotheos Namalis, agreement between bishops and people. To this end a committee was formed in February 1936. The work

of this committee was stopped on account of the Arab-Jewish revolution. There seems to be little hope that the work of reconciliation will be resumed, because the natives, encouraged by the Moslem nationalist movement, are becoming more and more exacting. Moreover, the troubles of last year hindered pilgrimages from taking place and consequently diminished the finances of the Patriarchate. The Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre sent Bishop Athanasios to Athens to ask the Metropolitan Chrysostom Papadopoulos to procure subscriptions for them. What makes matters worse is the conflict between the Patriarch Timotheos, not yet recognized by the Government, and the Patriarchal Administrator Meliton, Archbishop of Madaba. The Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, displeased with Archbishop Meliton, has appointed in his stead Archbishop Kelidion of 'Akka. But Archbishop Meliton persists in keeping his post.

ALBANIA.

In March, 1937, it was announced that the Holy Synod of the Œcumenical Patriarchate at the Phanar had granted autocephalic status to the Orthodox Church of Albania. This ends a controversy which has lasted for some years, during which sections of the Albanian Church proclaimed autonomy in defiance of the Phanar. The Œcumenical Patriarchate has consecrated Bishops to the four Albanian sees—namely, the metropolitan see of Tirana and the three suffragan bishoprics of Koritza, Argyrocastro and Valonæ.

RECENT SYNODAL DECISIONS.

An important decision of the Alexandrian Synod in December, 1936, forbade cremation of bodies except in cases of necessity. The Synod of the Greek Church has accepted this decision in principle, but has made no formal announcement pending the decision of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Rumanian Church has issued an order forbidding the publication of the Scriptures, or of any theological or devotional work without the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities. (See *L'Unité de l'Eglise*, Mars—Avril, 1937, pp. 37 onwards.)

INTERDENOMINATIONAL.

SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER, EDINBURGH, 1937.

In brief the Edinburgh Congress is the fruit of the Missionary Congress held in Edinburgh, 1910. Over a thousand delegates came from all over the world to discuss the possibility of collaboration in the Missions, and avoid useless

competition. Soon the Congress began to discuss the more fundamental questions of the union of the Churches. They decided to have an international Congress every ten years to discuss their differences of faith and seek reunion. In 1925 the great Congress of "Life and Work" was held in Stockholm, there were 500 delegates from 30 churches present. In 1927 at the Lausanne Congress there were 450 delegates from 90 churches. At the present Edinburgh Congress there were about 413 delegates representing about 135 churches; one can say from all the great churches of Christianity except Rome. There were, however, four Catholic priests present as *observers* but in no sense official representatives. We are indebted to one of them for these notes.

Many people remarked that there was a big difference between the attitude of the delegates at the Lausanne Congress and the Edinburgh Congress. At the former each church and each delegate insisted much more on putting their own opinion before the others. At Edinburgh they were much more content to listen to what the others had to say. They were all exceedingly friendly towards each other and anxious to see the good side in other people's doctrine. The Chairman, Dr. Temple, Archbishop of York, was greatly respected and all felt his perfect justice and desire for reunion in all his decisions. The success of the Congress in great part was due to Canon Hodgson, the Secretary, who worked day and night for the success of the Congress.

The subjects for discussion were divided into four sections :

1. The Grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ.
2. The Church of Christ and the Word of God.
3. The Church of Christ : Ministry and Sacraments.
4. The Church's Unity in Life and Worship.

In Section No. 1 there were 87 delegates, more or less equally taken from the various churches.

In Section No. 2, 89 delegates, from which the Lutherans were very strongly represented.

Section No. 3, one of the most agitated of all the Sections had 119 delegates from various churches.

Section No. 4, 129 delegates in which English and Americans were chiefly to be found.

Almost immediately the Sections divided up into Sub-sections to discuss various attitudes of the problems. For three days they discussed in the Sub-sections and then sent their reports to the full Sections. The latter discussed the Reports in detail and made a number of changes. After another three days the reports were printed and sent for the consideration of the whole Congress.

In the formation of the reports there were two tendencies. The Liberal Protestants and "left-wing" Anglicans tended in general to try to find vague formulae to which all could agree. Others tried to submit the points of difference to be reported side by side. In general one noticed that the latter tendency was the stronger. In a Meeting of the Youth group it was decided that the tendency to avoid the divergent opinions was not serving the cause of unity. Many stated a strong objection to the formulation of Creeds. The Reports of the Sections were considered in great detail, often half an hour being spent discussing one word.

The most important questions of theology were discussed in private conversation and this was perhaps the greatest value of the Congress. One would often see two leading theologians of rival schools sitting smoking and chatting about most abstract points of theology, they would often exchange copies of their theological works. Many of the delegates were put up together in seminaries, such as Cowan House, where they were in contact with each other during the whole Congress; it was there that the most valuable work of the Congress took place.

Some delegates, chiefly of the American school, wished to formulate very practical resolutions, others wished to consider the strict theological questions. All agreed that the immediate aim of the Congress was to break down the psychological barriers which have arisen between the churches and so prepare the way for reunion. They aimed at getting to know each other, not merely from controversy but also from personal contact. They tried also to understand and appreciate the interior spiritual life of others.

PROTESTANT ATTITUDE.—Almost every one noticed a distinct tendency towards Catholic doctrine, even among Low Church representatives. It was surprising to hear them speak with respect about tradition and the Saints. Very many delegates stressed the tendency of the Protestants to leave their old traditional doctrines and adopt more Catholic ones.

ORTHODOX ATTITUDE.—The Paris Academy was well represented, and Professors Bulgakov and Florovsky were the leading spokesmen of the Orthodox Church, in the discussions. There were also several non-Orthodox delegates from Oriental churches, chiefly Syrian, but they usually left the Paris delegates to voice their opinions. One or two of the Orientals objected to this predominance of the Paris Academy and considered that they did not represent their way of thinking.

The Orthodox delegates were the chief spokesmen in defence of Catholic doctrine. Very often one heard references

to the doctrine of the Roman, Orthodox and Anglican churches, as though these formed just one group.

Many must be puzzled how the Orthodox delegates could participate in this Congress, and why they did not refuse for the same reasons as Rome. The Orthodox delegates invariably replied that they were not conscious of making any concessions in matters of Faith. They merely came to bear witness to the Truth; to teach the ancient traditional doctrine which had been lost by the Protestants. One of them expressed it "We have not come to learn the True Faith, we already have it. We have come to teach." Another admitted that their tradition was not understood by many delegates. One Orthodox Archbishop became very impatient at some doctrines and opinions put forward by the Low Church delegates, and he suggested the Orthodox should have nothing more to do with these Protestants but should try to participate more in the Velehrad Congresses.

The general impression was that the Orthodox were trying by patient repetition of the Orthodox Faith to gradually bring home the value of their ancient traditional doctrine to the Protestants. When it was necessary they knew how to make perfectly clear statements, rejecting false doctrines about the validity of orders, inter-Communion, etc. It appears that in the recent years, specially since the Lambeth Congresses, the Orthodox have come to understand much better the differences between the Anglicans of the High and Low tendencies.

The method used by the Orthodox was to make very clear statements of their doctrines during the discussions, and if in the reports some doctrine crept in which could not be held by them, they insisted on a special foot-note being added to the text stating their differences. As the general tendency of the reports was to be ambiguous so as to cover over the differences in Faith of the various denominations the Orthodox delegates presented a solemn declaration two days before the end of the Congress. This declaration was read by His Grace Archbishop Germanos of Thyatira amid the greatest attention and silence, of all the delegates. He said quite frankly that the form in which the final statements of the reports came to be cast was not congenial to them. Generalising and the use of somewhat abstract language, did not appeal to the Orthodox mind. In religious discussions the Truth is better served by making points of difference clear. He then gave in detail a number of points about which the Orthodox delegates were dissatisfied. After this solemn declaration it is impossible to assert that the Orthodox made any concessions or were deceived concerning the differences which exist in the West.

ATTITUDE TO ROME.—During the whole Congress not a single offensive word was heard against Rome. Every one regretted her absence, especially the Chairman and the Secretary. The delegates, especially High Anglicans, reminded the Congress not to pass any resolutions which might make co-operation with Rome more difficult. Even the tendency to speak of “non-Roman Christendom” was suppressed in order to avoid an idea of opposition. A letter from the Prior of Amay was read together with other greetings, it was received with most exceptional applause and a special reply was prepared and read to the whole Congress. The same is true of the letter from the Archbishop of Edinburgh. There was a general feeling that perhaps later it would be found possible to co-operate with Rome, and so nothing should be allowed to hinder that happy event.

THEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES.—As mentioned above, the Protestant sects to some extent deserted their old doctrines and tended to introduce more Catholic ones. There was more desire to solve theological differences than at Lausanne. There was a greater feeling of unity than at Lausanne. The fundamental problems which continually came up and caused most discussion were :—

1. What is the nature of the Church ?
2. Which is the true Ministry ? Can Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Congregational Ministries be reconciled in one Church ?
3. Which comes first, the Church or Scripture ?
4. The Communion of Saints and devotion to Our Lady.
5. What is the meaning of the Word of God ?
6. Is it advisable to have a World Council ?

RESULTS.—Many psychological barriers to reunion of the Churches were broken down. They had aimed at preparing the way for the far off day when they would be able to have complete reunion. Many concrete suggestions for preparing the way for reunion such as those made by Dr. Mott which were rejected in Lausanne were passed at Edinburgh. The delegates felt much more sure of themselves and their goal.

The Orthodox theologians expressed the old traditional Catholic Truth in a simple living way. To many delegates these Truths were quite unknown. They were surprised to see with what fervour the Orthodox delegates stressed such doctrines as the Communion of Saints and the devotion to the Blessed Virgin. For example, it was entirely due to Professor Bulgakov that these two doctrines were introduced into the programme of the Congress, and after his speech on the devotion to the Blessed Virgin, many Low Church

delegates confessed that they had never understood so well the beauty of this devotion; they expressed their opinion that the Reformation, although necessary, had gone too far and they must get back to these beautiful old doctrines. It was a general impression that the tendency of the smaller sects was to desert their old beliefs and adopt much more Catholic ones. This was chiefly caused by the speeches of the Orthodox—for example, in a greater appreciation of tradition and the value of the Sacraments.

WORSHIP.—There were no such inter-communion celebrations as at Stockholm and at Lausanne. Each morning and evening prayers were recited and hymns sung, usually in St. Giles' Cathedral and the Assembly Hall. The Orthodox celebrated their Liturgy in one of the Protestant churches on four occasions. On the other days they usually celebrated the Liturgy in a small room in Cowan House, where most of them stayed. The youth movement expressed a desire for more frequent services at which members of other churches could be present without participating, so that in this way they could enter into the spiritual life of other churches.

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX IN HARBIN.

On the 7th June, 1937, Fr. Albert Valensin of Lyons paid a visit to the Russian Orthodox community at Harbin. His visit was short—three days in all—but most fruitful in contacts. He has sent us notes of his experiences, from which we have made the following summary.

I had three days to spare between the retreat which I had organized at Szepinkhai and another at Hsinking, and I decided to follow the advice of various friends in Europe who had urged me to visit the Russian community at Harbin. They had written about me to the Abbess Roufina of the convent of St. Vladimir, and to the Archimandrite Vassili, dean of the Faculty of Orthodox Theology at Harbin, who wrote me letters full of welcome. The Archimandrite apologized for his inability to speak French, but offered me the hospitality of the monastery of Kazansko-Bogoridisky, and concluded with the assurance that God would surely come to our aid in our labours and difficulties, for the salvation of the Holy Christian Church and the glory of His most holy Name and of His boundless grace.

The reception which I received at the station at Harbin surpassed all expectations; the Archimandrite was there, as well as several priests and important members of the Russian community, among whom one was tireless in his capacity of interpreter. The Archimandrite greeted me according to the Russian fashion with the kiss of peace on the shoulder,

and the others were introduced : the atmosphere was charged with Christian friendliness. In the waiting-room we bowed before the icons : the Reds had wanted to remove them, but the Chinese had objected : now the Japanese rule obliges both sides to keep quiet under threat of expulsion. We left the station for the monastery, which is at the other end of the town. On the way we stopped before another—miraculous icon of the Blessed Virgin, and I asked her for the grace of good counsel, that I might be the trusty agent of Christ Jesus in the contacts which I was about to make, and which, because of a common Christian faith, promised to be most intimate.

The Father Procurator received us and asked me to take the place of honour at table which was presided over by Mgr. Juvenal, sometime bishop of Pekin. The dinner was a Russian one, cooked specially for me ; that morning the good Procurator had himself gone to market to buy all sorts of rare fish, and he loaded my plate with caviar, yoghourt, cucumbers, etc. Best of all, the conversation was unstilted and fraternal—in spite of the presence of representatives of the press. These, however, were full of good will ; any errors they may have made were trivial and unimportant.

After a short visit to the church, we went to the houses which serve as a monastery for some sixty monks. It was the time for manual work, which most of the monks perform between the hours consecrated to the Office. (Only a few—chiefly priests and those studying for the priesthood—devote themselves to study.) One brother, who was busy in the locksmith's workshop, asked me whether monks in the West also do manual work. He seemed surprised but delighted to hear that they do. We visited the "spiritual Father," and in a neighbouring cell saw a monk aged 105 years, whom I saw the next day coming out of church in no way bent with age. The monks are divided into three categories : the novices, whose novitiate has no fixed time and may continue, at the will of the superior, for several years ; the professed monks ; and the "perfect." The latter are those who, after a certain time, have reached a high degree of detachment, and live a sort of hermit life in the bosom of the monastery. They are looked upon with universal veneration, and are credited with charismatic powers. Thus I was told how the monk of 105 had foretold that a certain man, unjustly condemned to death, would be reprieved, which in fact happened. The long hours spent in church for the morning liturgy, which lasts at least two hours, and for the evening office, which sometimes lasts four hours, permeate the poor and laborious life of the monks with a spirit of prayer.

From the Monastery I was conducted by the Archimandrite, my interpreter, and two representatives of the press, to the Faculty of Theology. It was evident that my visit was expected: teachers and students were waiting in the hall and greeted me with great kindness. I was taken to a room where students were to be orally examined by a jury of professors and some of the other students. The first candidate was a young priest, who was examined in sociology; the history of civilization, its chief periods, the nature of Russian civilization. After a quarter of an hour the examining professor turned to me and asked if I had a question to ask. With pleasure, I replied, and asked the young priest how he would define the difference between civilization and culture, and whether, if one desired the progress of a people, one should be more concerned with the development of their culture or of their civilization. The student answered most intelligently that culture, being spiritual, must be above civilization, which in its narrow sense implies chiefly material progress. After the Dean of the Faculty had made a short address, he took me to the class of ecclesiastical history. Here there were two young women. This was the first time, I was informed, that the theology degree would be conferred on women. I answered that there was at least one precedent for this in the West: in Padua in the seventeenth century, a woman was given the doctorate in theology. Before leaving the Faculty I attended a meeting of the League against Atheism which was being held there. It was presided over by an Orthodox, but attended also by various Protestants and two Catholic priests, one a Pole attached to the cathedral of St. Stanislas at Harbin, the other a Russian of the Oriental Catholic rite. The president asked me to give my views, and I laid stress on the importance of the religious worth of the individuals promoting the movement.

Although it was late, according to European standards, we went to visit the Rector at his charming little house outside Harbin. With him I had a very interesting and instructive conversation. He is a rare scholar, knowing Chinese and Mongolian as do few Europeans. He showed me the great Russo-Chinese dictionary which he is compiling, and told me that the Bolsheviks, in order to spread their propaganda, have invented a system of phonetics by which they have translated Lenin's works into Chinese: some five million copies have been published. But the Chinese language is a better defence against invasion than was the Great Wall. Nevertheless, the influence of Moscow is felt on the Mongolian borders, though central Mongolia, under the otherwise divergent influences of Japan and China, is protected from Bolshevism.

The next morning, Tuesday, at about 7 o'clock, the Archimandrite Vassili and M. Basil Gerasimov, my kind interpreter, accompanied me to the Polish church, where I celebrated Holy Mass, at which they assisted. Later, we called upon Mgr. Meletios, proto-bishop of the Russian community at Harbin. He received me with great cordiality, and we spoke about the émigrés in France, the religious movement in England, the trials of the Church in Russia. The conversation then turned upon the religious orders and some of the differences which characterise those of the East and those of the West. The bishop seemed to know little about affairs other than Russian, but was full of good will, kindness and piety. We separated with the kiss of peace, and promised to pray that Christ's will for His Holy Church might be realised.

The Archimandrite Vassili then took me to see Mgr. Nestor, sometime bishop of Kamtschka. He now lives in the Mercy House which shelters orphans, the aged, and incurables. He received us most kindly and, in company with the young Superior, took us round the House—or rather, the series of houses—which serve as a refuge for the victims of the Russian revolution. Near a door stood an old woman in patched clothes, shivering in the sunshine: she was General Wrangel's sister, I was told. This is but one among many tragic cases to be found there. The inmates are crowded in rooms where the beds almost touch one another. In the basement are the common dormitories for men, which one passes in order to reach the orphans' room. In some cases only a board divides a large divan, thus allowing five children to sleep side by side without being in the same bed. But over these miseries presides a truly Christian charity, and in each room an icon of the Mother of God, pictures of angels and of saints, people the humble dwelling with heavenly visitors. In the convent we saw the nun who for twenty years has been painting these icons. I congratulated her on accomplishing a real work of mercy, by which many souls will be comforted.

The convent of St. Vladimir was also expecting us, but what was my amazement to find at the door all the orphans and the whole community of sisters to receive me. A lovely Russian song was begun, and I walked into the convent through an avenue of little girls. A little girl gave me, in the Russian fashion, a loaf of bread, and the Superior expressed her joy at being able to receive me. Another orphan brought me a splendid cushion finely embroidered by herself and her friends; there are as many embroidered flowers as there are children; and asked me to send greetings to the little girls of France. Finally, songs were sung expressing the convent's

good wishes to the French priest who had done them the honour of visiting them. I admit that I was moved by such a grand reception which I had been far from expecting. I replied by telling the children how glad I was to see them surrounded by such angels of charity as are their good mothers, who give them not only tenderness but hope. I urged them to remain unswervingly true to the Faith of Christ and to the love of the Father who is in Heaven. "I promise you," I concluded, "that my prayers and those of your little sisters in the West will join yours in asking that the Divine Mercy may end the days of trial, and may allow the true children of Christian Russia one day to see their country in the paschal glory of its resurrection." We visited the convent and the church. The community consists of some thirty nuns, who live according to the Rule of St. Basil. They get up at 5 a.m. for Office, which is followed by tea, then by the liturgy. After this they proceed to the work assigned to them for the day. In the evening they have another long Office, and once a week they get up during the night. It is to the faith and energy of Abbess Roufina that the convent owes its existence. With indomitable perseverance she set about seeking for a new home for her daughters after the destruction of their old one by the Bolsheviks; she has but one thought: to raise in the midst of triumphant impiety the silent protest of prayer and charity. At the time of my visit she was in Shanghai, but her spirit is always with her daughters, who seem to reflect in themselves the presence of God. Their Orthodox Faith is that of Chrysostom and of Basil: any Catholic would recognize in them the echo of his own faith. For that Orthodoxy is not a division but a communion, which, according to the precept of the Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. iv) keeps "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

In company with the Archimandrite Vassili I paid a visit to the Catholic Archimandrite Fabien Abrantovitch, the Superior of the community of Marian Regulars of the Immaculate Conception at Harbin. Various institutions are grouped round the parish, which numbers some two hundred Catholics: a school for boys with 120 pupils, a college directed by the Ursulines with 200 pupils, and an orphanage for Russian children entrusted to the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary of the Slavonic rite. The latter specially interested my companions, who saw the place for the first time. Certainly its size, and the appropriateness of the buildings, was in contrast with the improvised 'camps' which we had seen that morning. And I thought to myself how fatally divisions hinder the generous expansion of charity, and that charity cannot be found in its plenitude except in unity.

That night was the last in the Paschal season. Once again Vespers of the Resurrection were to be sung. We arrived in time at the Convent of St. Vladimir, and I was given a place in the narrow passage between the nave and the sanctuary, where I could see without being seen.

Fr. Michael, parish priest of the great church of St. Sophia, invited us to dinner. Like all Russian priests who are not monks, he is married, and we were received by his wife and his son-in-law. He listened with great interest to the motive of my journeys—to promote the movement for sacerdotal retreats in the East as it is being developed in the West. Finally he exclaimed: "Your ministry is altogether spiritual and religious, and that is most admirable!" I told him that he had exactly understood the meaning of the long journeys that I have undertaken: that I had come exclusively to relight or awaken the fire of the love of Christ. "Oh Father," he said, "nothing is more necessary for priests: for if they want a faithful people they must have the love of Christ burning in their hearts." It was late—very late—when we returned to the monastery.

The next day, Wednesday, I took leave of Mgr. Juvenal, who was going to be bishop of the Russian Orthodox in Shanghai. He asked me to let him know when I passed that way, for he wished for further meetings. That, I replied, was also my desire: might we be able, in these intertwining paths of Christianity, to bind ourselves more closely by the sweet bond of our common love of Christ.

In the train which took me towards the capital of Manchukuo, sitting opposite the bunch of roses which had so charmingly been laid on my seat, I wondered how such a reception came to be given to a priest whose sole merit was to have entered into the desires of the Father of all the Faithful, and have let the Russian émigrés in France feel the meaning of Catholic charity. The success of that effort had been modest, for we were hampered by post-war economic conditions. But the union of hearts had done more than the division of interests. And after fifteen years the achievements have triumphed over the obstacles. I can see again the priests coming from the Russian group at Lyons, the children preserved in the Faith, souls strengthened in their adherence to Christ, and, by the example of an effective love, the diffusion of a light which enlightens faithful souls on the path of truth.

Let me ask those who read these lines not to forget the little Russian orphans at Harbin and the good nuns who work to make them Christians. Their poverty is great and their future uncertain. The breath of revolution, which has cast them into a strange land, may still disperse them further,

and expose them to the fatal temptations of the great cities of Asia. No Catholic can remain unmoved by the call of these little ones. To help them is, in their persons, to serve Jesus Christ.

OBITUARY

The Serbian Patriarch Varnava who died on July 24th during the political turmoil caused by the ratification of the Yugoslav Concordat will always be remembered for his patriotism and his devotion to the cause of Serbian Orthodoxy. Born fifty-seven years ago in a village of Southern Serbia which was then under Turkish rule, he grew up determined to devote his life to the cause of the "Sacred Cross and Golden Liberty" for the glory of the Orthodox Church and the salvation of the Serbian race. Young Peter Rossitch was sent to Russia for his studies and it was whilst a student at the Imperial Theological Academy that he met the Russian Bishop Anthony—later Metropolitan—and this friendship which lasted until the Metropolitan's death last year, certainly helped to confirm the young Serbian monk in his rather narrow and fanatically national conception of Religion. Rossitch became a monk in 1905 and after being ordained he went to Constantinople as Chaplain to the Serbian Legation. He was able to do a great deal for the welfare of the Orthodox Serbs in Constantinople and at the same time he kept in close touch with the Phanar where he won esteem and appreciation so that in 1906 the Synod of the Ecumenical Church appointed him Bishop of Debar-Veles in Southern Serbia. The situation was peculiarly difficult owing to Serbo-Bulgar rivalries in a region which was still held by the Sultan and where the Greeks were in ecclesiastical control of Orthodoxy. Fearlessness and determination rather than any sort of diplomacy enabled the young Bishop Varnava to hold his own against the various machinations of enemies of the Serbian cause, and when, in 1912, victorious Serbian troops liberated Southern Serbia from Turkey, Bishop Varnava set himself to the task of building up a new cultural life for his long oppressed people. But the world war gave him other duties. He accompanied the Serbian army and later went to Russia, England, and France. After the union of the Southern Slavs in 1918 Bishop Varnava devoted himself to reconstruction work in Southern Serbia. In 1920 he became the Metropolitan Bishop of Skoplje where he remained until his election as Patriarch in 1930.

Although Patriarch Varnava endeavoured to be true to the ideals of a united Southern Slav Kingdom in which Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats and Slovenes were exactly on the same footing, he never really grasped the true significance of such a union. In words he stressed the need of religious tolerance but he probably never realised how contradictory were his sermons and official pronouncements wherein he appealed to his faithful Serbian Orthodox flock to labour for the unity of the people by cherishing their national Religion which was the religion of the *Serbian* people. The Concordat seemed to him an attack on the prestige of the Serbian Orthodox Church because it placed the Catholic Church on an equal basis within the State, and so he readily lent himself to a violent campaign against its ratification, inspired as he was by malcontent politicians and also by the false hope that Anglican sympathy with Serbian Orthodoxy could dissuade the Yugoslav Government from proceeding with the ratification of the Concordat. Had the recurrence of a grave malady, from which the Patriarch had already suffered three years ago, not supervened and put him definitely out of action for many weeks previous to his death he would doubtless have been open to persuasion not to allow his Church to be dragged into the arena of party politics. No one more than Patriarch Varnava would have regretted the harm which has been done to Serbian Orthodoxy by the events which have followed his death. He loved his church and served her as he knew best. May he rest in peace.

A. CHRISTITCH.

On August 13th, 1936, the Rt. Rev. Abbot Benedict Gariador died at the Hôtel-Dieu in Beirut, at the age of 78 years. Abbot Gariador spent a considerable part of his life serving the Eastern Churches. He founded and was first Prior of the Monastery of SS. Benedict and Ephrem on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem, to which is attached the Syrian Seminary, and before the War was visitor of the Maronite Monastic Congregations. He was for eight years Abbot General of the Cassinese Congregation of the Primitive Observance, and after resigning that office was Apostolic Visitor of the Melkite Monastic Congregations. R.I.P.

On January 21st, 1937, Mar Butros 'Aziz, Chaldean Bishop of Zakho, died at the age of 70.

Mar Butros was born in Mossul on April 6th, 1866.

He studied at the Dominican Fathers' Syro-Chaldean Seminary in Mossul, and afterwards at the Propaganda in Rome, where he received the degree of Doctor.

He was ordained priest in 1891, and was successively Superior of the Chaldean Patriarchal Seminary in Mossul, Patriarchal Vicar in Aleppo, Bishop of Salmas in Iran, and finally Bishop of Zakho. R.I.P.

In 1936 died the Lord Gerasimos Masarrah, Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut. R.I.P. After many difficulties, his coadjutor, the Lord Elias Salihy, was elected as his successor.

On April 23rd, the great Arabic scholar, the Reverend Father Lammens, S.J., died at Beirut. R.I.P.

In the June of this year, Mgr. Meletios Abu-'Assaleh, Catholic Melkite Archbishop of Ba'albek (Heliopolis) in Coele, Syria, died.

He was born at Rashayya al-Wadi in the eparchy of Cæsarea Philippi on November 8th, 1880, and was elected Archbishop of Ba'albek on June 5th, 1922. R.I.P.

News was received in the beginning of the year of the death of Father Potapi Emelianov. He was born in 1889. The Archbishop Antony was interested in his education. He became a monk of the famous Pochaev Monastery where he particularly studied patrology; from these studies the idea of the Unity of the Church stood out. During the years 1916—1918 he laboured as a parish priest and worked for reunion. In the June of 1918 he was reconciled with the Church by Mgr. Fedorov. Fifty thousand of his parishioners went with him. In 1920 he was arrested, and in 1927 was in Solovki. R.I.P.

The persistent rumours of the death of Metropolitan Peter Krutitzki, *Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne* (of Moscow), are now confirmed. He died on August 29th, 1936, in exile in Siberia. R.I.P.

We note here that, since the deposition of Metropolitan Cyril and the deaths of the Metropolitans Agathangel (October 16th, 1928) and Arseny (February 10th, 1936), the death of Metropolitan Peter leaves Metropolitan Sergius the sole *Guardian of the Patriarchal Throne*.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

During this year THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY has been growing in size and we hope that the number of its readers and those interested in it will also grow. Since its *contents* seems to demand more space and is still likely to go on demanding space and very often quite a number of illustrations, we intend next year to slightly change the format and at the same time to raise the price from 6*d.* to 1*s.* a copy, and from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a year, post free. This charge of 1*s.* a copy will enable us both to keep the price stable and to expand as circumstances demand. Many people have told us that the recent copies of THE QUARTERLY are a good shillingsworth already and have urged us to take this step. So :—

THE EASTERN CHURCHES QUARTERLY, January, 1938.

Single copies - 1*s.*

Annual Subscription - 4*s.*, post free.

The U.S.A. and Canadian subscriptions still remain one dollar per year.

UNION OF PRAYER FOR PEACE.

We have received the following from Father Gerald Vann, O.P. :—" His Eminence Cardinal Pacelli has addressed to the Master General of the Order of Preachers a letter in which he informs him that His Holiness the Pope : ' encourages and blesses the Union of Prayer for Peace . . . and all those who have given or shall in the future give their names to it. ' "

Father Vann tells us that : " the membership is now approaching the 10,000 mark, but this includes many hundreds of names from Ireland, a large number from the U.S.A. and others from countries such as France, Australia, Denmark, where the Union is just becoming known : the total for England itself is thus not very large."

(For conditions of membership, etc., see this year's April issue, p. 100).

WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER,

EDINBURGH, 3RD TO 18TH AUGUST, 1937.

Some account of this important event is given in *The Chronicle*, but a more detailed consideration of its deliberations will be given later.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

During this year the Society of St. John Chrysostom has been fairly active with regard to the organisation of Study Circles and Liturgies. In December, 1936, a Study Circle, conducted by Dom Bede Winslow, met to consider the "Eastern Orthodox Church" by Stefan Zankov, and in January, 1937, to consider the "Byzantine Liturgy."

On Monday, January 25th, the last day of the Church Unity Octave, a Byzantine-Ukrainian Liturgy was celebrated by the Rev. L. van den Bossche at the church of St. Patrick, Soho Square, by kind permission of the Very Rev. Canon Dunford, for which Dr. Burmester, a Catholic of the Eastern Rite, came specially from Cambridge to act as sub-deacon. On Saturday, February 20th, for the first time in England two English priests of the Eastern Rite, Rev. F. Wilcock, S.J., and Rev. F. Ryder, S.J., concelebrated a Byzantine-Slavonic Liturgy in the church of SS. Anselm and Cecilia. The Rev. Hierodiaconos Vladimir of Amay came specially from Belgium to act as deacon. The music was finely rendered by a small Russian choir under the direction of Mr. Volkovsky.

On Sunday, April 25th, Palm Sunday according to the Julian Calendar, a Byzantine-Ukrainian Liturgy was again celebrated by Father van den Bossche in the Chapel of the English Martyrs, St. Patrick's Church, Soho Square. This was preceded by the blessing and distribution of palms, represented in this case by bunches of willow tied with different coloured ribbons. Dr. Burmester again kindly acted as sub-deacon.

The arrival in London, on their way to Canada, of six newly ordained Ukrainian priests on Friday, July 2nd, gave the Society of St. John Chrysostom another opportunity of arranging the celebration of a Byzantine-Ukrainian Liturgy in St. Patrick's Church, Soho Square.

The Rev. Constantine Zharsky, the celebrant, wore a white Phelonion decorated with Ukrainian embroidery.

The music, remarkable for its beauty and simplicity, was rendered by a choir of five priests who sang the traditional chant with great skill and devotion.

We hope that our Society may help English Catholics to become thoroughly familiar with the rites and practices of our own brethren of the Eastern Rites already in communion with the Holy See, who number some eight million, so that in our contacts with Christians of the separated Eastern Churches we may be able to show that we understand their traditions and that we are not seeking, in our desire for reunion, to impose a Latin uniformity.

C. F. L. ST. GEORGE.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR,

May I voice a strong protest against the criticism of J. Danzas' book by some anonymous "Russian Worker for Reunion" in your last issue, as well as against B.W.'s thrust at the same book in his review of Dr. Zernov's booklet. The former, presumably unable to deal with the work himself, hides behind Prof. Berdyaev who attributes to J. Danzas thoughts and motives an unbiassed reader fails to detect. The concise outline of Russian spirituality, ably drawn by her, is entirely devoid of the spirit of controversy only too apparent in Mr. Berdyaev's criticism. The allegation that J. Danzas was unable to grasp the Russian religious spirit is indeed strange, for she possesses not only an inside knowledge of Orthodoxy but also of its inner spiritual currents, having been, when yet in that church, under the spiritual direction of one of the last *startsy*. Though the limited space of a letter does not allow me to deal with all the criticisms, some points demand to be elucidated.

1. Prof. Berdyaev resents the author's reference to the dualism in Russian Orthodoxy, one of his arguments against it being "the tolerant and compassionate attitude of the Russian people to *sinner*s"—this J. Danzas never denied, she spoke of a tolerant attitude to *sin*, and if Mr. Berdyaev cannot perceive the difference, this alone should disqualify his criticism. It is interesting to note that in this very same issue of *Putj* in which the editor, Mr. Berdyaev, attacked J. Danzas, an article by Prof. Kartashev is passed without comment, though he says virtually the same thing :

"With a purely Iranian (i.e. Manichean) dualistic power the man of ancient Russia felt the bestiality and filth of his life in the flesh and turned to a luminous, clean . . . heavenly life . . . of asceticism and monasticism, etc."

2. Others, not Catholics only, have spoken of the Protestant influences on the Slavophiles. This is what the late Prof. S. Troubetzkoy wrote (see *Putj*, No. 47) upon the doctrines and reforms advocated by them :

"These reforms—a democratisation of the Church, elected clergy and hierarchy, married bishops—seriously advocated in the Slavophil camp certainly witness to an insufficient understanding of the spirit of the Orthodox Church, its past and future problems . . . Also Protestant influences can be traced in other details of Slavophil theology, even in their controversy against the Western confessions."

Of course "Protestantism" is not to be understood here as official Lutheranism, but rather as the idealism of German philosophy, and Mr. Berdyaev himself has to acknowledge this : in an article in *Putj* (No. 49) :

"In nowise do I deny the originality of the Slavophiles' thought which was perhaps the first original thought in Russia. But also one cannot deny the fact that German romanticism and idealism, Schelling and Hegel, strongly influenced the Slavophiles."

3. The scholarly article of J. Danzas upon "Gnostic Survivals in Contemporary Russian Religious Thought," published in 1936 in the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, clearly demonstrates the close connection of the Sophiology of Russian twentieth century thinkers with that of the early Gnostics and of mediaeval occultism. In this opinion she is supported by the majority of the Russian Orthodox hierarchy—those whom Mr. Berdyaev terms "the obscurantist Russian circles"—and who are, in fact, the only authorities as yet acknowledged by the Russian Church.

Yours faithfully,

G. BENNIGSEN.

33, Courthope Road,
London, N.W.3.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

We Beheld His Glory. By Nicholas Arseniev, D.D. Translated from the German by M. A. Ewer. (S.P.C.K.) pp. 215. 5s.

The Church may be regarded as a city set on a hill, seen by all outside of her both far and near. And those without may be impressed and may fear, they may also admire and draw near, and coming near may compare themselves with the Church only to see how far they fall short of her strength and her beauty. And so only pondering on their own deficiencies, for no other measure of comparison is given them by Catholics, may lose heart and take themselves a long way off, and remain there in their isolation.

So it is that many see the Church, and still more so it is that many Catholics see the other Christians without the fold. In both cases they are judging only by externals, a quite legitimate measure but one that does not get you very far.

Professor Arseniev, in the book before us, uses another measure when he looks out on Christian thought and life (specially in Germany) in the world to-day outside of the Orthodox Church of which he is a member. His book seems to us the most inspiring and encouraging of the books that treat of the divided state of Christendom that we have yet read.

In the last chapter, speaking of the Œcumenical Movement, he says:—"What is the leading inspiration within this endeavour for unity, to serve as a guiding star for the work and development of the movement with those who interpret

it organically, not in an external and 'diplomatic' manner? The answer is: a common *growing into* the faith which we confess and preach—a common growing into the Head, Christ the Incarnate and Glorified. This is a Johannine line, along which the deepest unity and fellowship will be possible: out of the fulness of the Glory of the Incarnate One ('we beheld His Glory'), and of the fulness of His sacrifice and of His Victory. We must be taken into the depths of His Victory and His Cross, we must grow into it, more and more, through the nourishing, strengthening, and assisting power of His grace, we must be laid hold on by Him, by His Victory, by His new triumphant life, and become established therein—*then we will be one.*"

In the first chapter on the *realism of early Christianity*, Dr. Arseniev says: "Primitive Christianity was laid hold upon, was subjugated, by the reality, objectivity, by the overwhelming power of its religious object. . . . The early Christians were not, and did not aspire to be, moral theologians, or philosophers, or a new kind of myth-makers. They were witnesses, men who 'could do no otherwise', who were constrained to bear their testimony. . . . We beheld *His Glory*. There has been an inrush of eternal life into this concrete human history, into the course of events in the world." And elsewhere he says: "This divine victory and redemption, this complete and adequate revelation, this inrush of God into the world, took place in Jesus Christ. And to-day, here and there, this Christian message is being rediscovered—rediscovered in its full force, no longer made tame and harmless, or deprived of its inmost essence." (p. 12).

It is in quest of this *Christian realism* that Dr. Arseniev examines the trends of present-day Christian thought. He is dealing primarily with Germany, although there are chapters on *The Johannine "Vision of Glory" in the Eastern Church*, and *Incarnation-Theology in Modern Anglicanism*. His treatment of *some tendencies in modern Roman Catholic thought* is encouraging. Here he is considering particularly Germany and he refers to the writings of Abbot Herwegen, Romano Guardini, Dom Thomas Michels and Dom Odo Casel. Speaking of the life within the corporate body as the centre of Catholic religious experience, he says: "But this central experience of Catholicity—the experience of the Church—precisely in modern times is being interpreted once more not so much in terms of an exterior organization, as in the spirit of the Mystery, in the sense of the unending life-stream of grace which flows forth from the Incarnation, from the Cross and the Victory—in the sense of the *Corpus Christi Mysticism*, the Mystical Body of Christ."

The other chapters on German Protestantism are also encouraging. The general religious situation, modern Protestant theology, and the German High Church Movement are all dealt with. In speaking of the last stage in Barth's theological development, he says: "The succinct and weighty exposition of Christian belief in his book *Credo* (1935) is a clear and unmistakable confession of the Apostolic faith in terms of Christian realism. It is strongly Trinitarian, it is true to the spirit of the Fathers and of the New Testament. It breathes at one and the same time the spirit of Pauline Christology, of the Fourth Gospel, and of Athanasius." (p. 49).

In Chapter IV the present-day longing for the half-forgotten *reality* of the Church is brought out very clearly. The chief document of this reawaking Christian experience is shown to be the Epistle to the Ephesians and a quotation from Karl Barth's *Credo* is given: "That Christ should become the Master of my life is a thing which I cannot possess for myself, as a single person standing alone. . . . I cannot obtain justification and sanctification through grace for myself alone. All that, I can possess only in the 'Body of Christ,' in the midst of those who, because they have heard with me the same Word of God, have become my brethren." (*footnote*, p. 90).

This is a book that all should carefully study. The translation is most excellent.

B.W.

Urkirche und Ostkirche. Von Friedrich Heiler. (Verlag Ernst Reinhardt in München). 1937. S. xx—607. RM.11. (25 per cent reduction outside of Germany).

When one embarks on a journey one is liable to fall in with strange company. So too in the quest for Reunion it is not surprising to find that others like ourselves are interested in the Eastern Churches. Dr. Heiler, formerly a Catholic in our sense of the word, and now a Lutheran, has a firm "belief in the evangelical Catholicity and in the union of Christendom." To propagate this belief he intends writing a book in three volumes, entitled *The Catholic Church of the East and West*, the first volume of which forms the subject of the present review. The "Urkirche" is portrayed in the first 123 pages and serves as an excellent introduction to the study of the Eastern Churches which occupies the rest of the book. In this introduction Dr. Heiler proves the Catholicity of the Early Church with great clearness, although to Catholics it is perhaps a strange new world of thought which links together the names of Pius XI, the Protestant Archbishop Söderblom and others, all equally advocates of this Catholicity.

In the second part due weight is given to the personal share which Photius and Michael Caerularius had in their schisms

with Rome, while at the same time Rome is blamed for her attitude of unbending intolerance—what we would call firmness of authority. Yet one cannot speak too highly of Dr. Heiler's fairness towards Rome: even when disagreeing with her, he quotes much to her advantage. Nor does he fall into a favourite attitude of Protestants who look towards the East for a "purer faith" than that to be obtained in Rome, although of course, he does disagree with later developments in Roman doctrine. He judges everything on the evidence before him and is astonishingly free from prejudice. He is quite aware of the blots and bad tendencies as well as of the edifying episodes in the course of Eastern and Western history—in the formation of points of view and dogmas in both Churches. But one cannot help feeling slightly, though not unkindly, amused at Heiler's own position when he so naïvely puts Rome and, Constantinople let us say, through their paces.

Besides an outline of the history of the Orthodox Greek Church and the various autocephalous churches in communion with her, there is a statement of Orthodox belief strengthened by numerous quotations from leading theologians throughout the centuries (in this way Dr. Heiler lets the Orthodox speak for themselves), showing in many instances where it differs from Western teaching. He brings out the distinction between the West which likes everything cut and dried, and the East which is content to let the formularies of dogma lie hidden, as it were, in the life of the Church. It is the Liturgy which proves the Eastern belief in this or that point of Western dogma. At the end of a satisfying explanation of the Filioque omission a quotation from Bulgakov is made in which he says: "The Third Person of the Holy Trinity is known so intimately, deeply and with such intensity in Orthodoxy that it is actually the religion of the Holy Ghost." A fact which might well benefit the Western Church in its popular devotion were the two great Churches joined together again and the East could make its influence felt amongst us.

But Dr. Heiler is a little sweeping when in the next section on the Sacraments he brackets the Anglican Church together with us Catholics in upholding "with great energy" the indissolubility of marriage as opposed to the Orthodox teaching on that point. Individual Anglicans may indeed uphold it, but the attitude of the Church of England as a whole is one of subservient tolerance towards the demands of the pagan society in which it lives, as a glance at the progress of the divorce bills in our country will show.

The Liturgy is treated at length in another section in which not only a detailed description of the Eucharistic celebration is given but also an outline of the seasons and feasts in the

calendar. Chapters on monasticism and prayer follow as well as separate surveys of all the "lesser" Eastern Churches; these accounts are sufficient and give a very good idea of the special features of these bodies.

Convincing too is the masterly summing up of the characteristics of the Eastern Churches based on the four words: one, holy, Catholic, apostolic; although, as Heiler himself shows, each "note" has to be modified to a greater or less degree.

It is altogether a scholarly work, well written—at times in a somewhat poetic vein, and equipped with adequate indices and references; obviously the outcome of considerable study, thought and labour. And if the making known of Oriental teaching and practice is preparing the way for Reunion, then Dr. Heiler has contributed greatly to that objective. His book cannot but give the unprejudiced reader an appreciation of the Eastern Churches' greatness and at the same time the longing for the visible union between East and West.

L.G.S.

The Year of Our Lord. By Dame Aemiliana Loehr. Translated by a Monk of St. Benedict. pp. xxvii—393 (New York). 1937.

This book contains explanations of all the Sundays of the year in the spirit of the Maria-Laach monks who, for some twenty years, are in possession of the most profound, most "practical," and most genuine interpretation of the Liturgy. In Germany this movement is not only widespread but is already bearing fruit a hundredfold. Seen in its own German surroundings, therefore, this book is, however useful and already popular, but a drop in the ocean of brilliant and deeply spiritual works by Abbot Herwegen, Dom Odo Casel, Dom Athanasius Wintersig, Dom Thomas Michels, Prior Hammenstede, Romano Guardini, Eric Peterson, and many other truly liturgical men. The author of this book has assimilated the true spirit extremely well and her work is certainly a proof *de facto* how eminently workable Liturgy is when seen in the right light. But what in our humble opinion makes this book important is the fact that finally a non-German has had the real courage to launch these rich and fruitful ideas into the English-speaking world. There is hardly any literature in either English or French that can hold a candle to the liturgical productions of Maria-Laach and its numerous adherents. Together with the courage of this long-needed initiative, the excellence of the translation (so difficult from the somewhat too lyrical German of the original) and the careful adaptation of the book to the tastes

and capacities of the unaware English-speaking public make this effort of the anonymous "Monk of St. Benedict" equivalent to an original work.

The meditations on the Sundays are preceded by an Introduction by Dom Odo Casel in which he explains in his "patristic" way the meaning of the cycle of the Liturgical Year. Dom Casel's maturity of thought and of spiritual insight is reflected by the perfect poise of gravity and beauty of his style.

Abbot Vonier has contributed a Foreword in which he particularly stresses the value of the liturgical celebrations. In our humble opinion this is the weakest part of the book such as it appears in English. The author gives the impression of being extremely in favour of the Maria-Laach doctrine, but his intellectual grasp of this doctrine is far from being so strong as his enthusiastic good will. Though continually insisting on the fact that the liturgical celebrations are more than a matter of human remembrance, that they contain a direct sanctifying power (p. xvii), he himself seems to say hardly more than the altogether too weak interpretation which he so rightly rejects. He says, for instance: "Is liturgical commemoration nothing else than a mental act, or has the liturgical solemnity a power to put us into communication with the mysteries of Christ's career? If we bear in mind the fundamental fact that the Church, in celebrating the mysteries of Christ's redemptive work, is directly in contact with Christ Himself, who was born, who suffered, who rose from the dead, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that liturgical commemorations are something more than mere remembrances, mere thanksgivings for the great deeds of charity on the part of the Son of God in the past. The feasts of Christ are personal and immediate efforts on the part of the Church to come into communion with Christ, who is living in the Church. It is more true to say, for instance, that we celebrate Christ at Christmas than that we celebrate Christ's birth. The whole liturgy is an intercourse with the living Son of God over the mystery of the birth; we do not keep the birthday of One that is no more, but of One who still has the life which He brought into the world when He came forth from the Virgin's womb" (pp. xv—xvi). For Abbot Vonier, the Mystery of the Resurrection is essential to our redemption, because it means the perpetuity of Christ's existence (p. xii). Finally, "we have more than a historical remembrance, we have the Spirit who forever stirs up in us the *memory* of what Christ *did* because Christ forever remembers it in the glory of the Father" (p. xiii). Of course Christ is living in the Church; therefore She can never not be in communion with

Him; and thus turns the whole sentence about the feasts of Christ into mere tautology. Of course liturgy is more than a human remembrance; but do we get much farther than a remembrance if the Spirit does nothing more than "stir up in us a memory" of Christ's actions because "Christ remembers" them? Of course the Resurrection shows the perpetuity of Christ's existence, but does that bring the Resurrection any nearer to us? The point is that liturgy, so far from being a mere reminder (natural or supernatural), is, in truth, the re-enactment of the very Redeeming-Act itself, not "historically" but "mystically," or "sacramentally." Liturgy loathes to think of Christ apart from His Redeeming-Act. Indeed the point of the Liturgy is that it cannot see Christ at all without Him actually working out this Redeeming-Act. This *actually* Redeeming Christ is the Christ of the liturgical year; every feast represents, re-enacts, the whole Redeeming-Act, underlining the specific aspect of this or that phase of the Redeeming-Act; every feast is the Redeeming-Act re-enacted under a special light. Therefore it is neither Christ as a mere Individual, nor the purely historical details of his birth, which the Church celebrates at Christmas, but Christ being mystically re-born, that is: Christ making his birth once more present amongst us as an integral and everlasting part of His eternally actual Redeeming-Act, mystically, or sacramentally, made present again in our time and space, infallibly, through Mass and Sacraments.

DOM THEODORE WENDELING.

Second Survey on the Affairs of the Orthodox Church. Issued for the Church of England Council on Foreign Relations by the Press and Publications Board of the Church Assembly, Church House, Westminster. June, 1937. pp. 47. 1s. 6d.

This is a very excellent pamphlet. We do not entirely agree with everything said in Section I, *Communion of the Orthodox Church*, nor do we agree with the tone of the remarks dealing with the Concordat between Rome and Yugoslavia. One might have expected a more completely informed statement of affairs than that of the Bishop of Gloucester's in *The Times*.

Section II deals with the Orthodox Theological Conference at Athens and prints an appreciation of Professor Zankov of Sofia.

But by far the most important section is that dealing with *The Recent History of the Russian Patriarchate*. It takes up 11 out of the entire 47 pages of the booklet and is the best account we have read in English of the present situation, giving at the same time all the necessary historical background by which

alone this situation both in Russia and abroad can be fully understood. We intend to refer to this section of the publication in some future issue.

B.W.

The Essence of the Œcumenical Movement. By Professor L. A. Zander. (Translated from the Russian by N. Duddington). World's Student Christian Federation, 13 rue Calvin, Geneva.

This is a most useful pamphlet setting out the reasons why the Orthodox Church considers that it is lawful officially to take part in the Œcumenical Movement. There are various statements and lines of thought that Catholics will not only find strange, but with which they will not be able to agree. On the other hand, the whole essay is an interesting and well thought out exposition of the case in question, and we think two points are made very clear; namely, that the Orthodox, in taking part in these Movements, in no way intend to compromise their faith, but are always ready both to safeguard it and also to explain it when confronted with the vague and untraditional statements of many of the Protestant delegates; and also that the Œcumenical Movement is a movement in which the Holy Spirit is most decidedly working. *And with one accord we glorify the all-Holy Spirit*, is the well-chosen subtitle that may well be taken as the motto of the Movement.

B.W.

The Teaching of the Abyssinian Church. (The Faith Press). 25s.

In 1922 a private individual, through the Anglican Bishop in Egypt, addressed a questionnaire of 59 items concerning their faith and practice to the authorities of the Church of Ethiopia, which was in due course answered at some length through the interest of Ras Tafari (later the negus Haile Selassie). A translation of these answers was made by the Rev. A. F. Matthew, and is now published with a useful introduction, on the Orientals in general and the Abyssinians in particular, by Canon J. A. Douglas. (But may we point out to him that the present organized Catholic Melkite body originated long after the Crusades, that Catholics do not claim for them an exclusive right to the name Melkite, and that one in every four of all Melkites is in communion with Rome).

The questions were on the whole well drawn up (but the translation into Amharic was not so good and led to some misunderstandings) and the answers provide valuable evidence for the general Christian orthodoxy of the Ethiopian Church. But where practice is concerned we are given no indication of how far canonical discipline is actually in force in certain matters, e.g., the use of the sacraments of Holy Anointing and Penance.

A.E.

La Vie Spirituelle (July issue) is a type of review which is rare abroad and totally lacking in this country. It is less concerned with the "spiritual life" of individuals or groups of the Church than with the life of the Spirit in the Church. This attitude is the key to the present series of articles; it is the Spirit of Truth Who *demand*s the unity which preserves charity in the bond of peace. Unity is not a thing which the Christian is free to seek or not to seek; his character of Christian baptised in the same Holy Spirit for whose action in men it was expedient that Christ should die, has inherent in it the necessity for unity.

It is this primary notion which the contributors to the present number try, in different articles, to elucidate. Here we can mention only a few of the more striking points.

The first essay, by Abbot Vonier, sets forth the fundamentals upon which Christian unity is based: Christ's sacramental life in His Church, and the Mass as the central act of the Church, "through, with and in" Christ. Dom Chabannes next shows how, from the earliest Christian times, the Mass involved the active participation of the faithful: which is why, for instance, the Eucharist was originally called "synaxis," a Greek word meaning the active gathering-together of men into one, very intimate, community. He quotes St. Ignatius of Antioch: "Only that which you do together is good: one same prayer, . . . one same spirit, . . . one same hope animated by charity in innocent joy; all this is Jesus Christ, Who is one. . . ." Two essays on Cardinal Mercier and Père Portal illustrate the practice of such principles in modern times. These two "apostles of unity," who worked for the greater understanding of Catholics with Orthodox and Anglicans, had no hazy notion of the difficulties involved. Cardinal Mercier, for instance, whose emphasis on the unity of all knowledge caused him always to seek the groundwork of truth which underlies even error, saw nevertheless that the process by which truth may be diffused requires patience as well as zeal, and wrote to an Anglican dignitary: "Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat, Deus." A subtle difficulty is approached by M. D. Chenu, O.P., the problem of the mystic faced with the formalism of the visible Church: the apparent opposition between formalism and realism: *i.e.* are not a hierarchical institution and formal dogmas an obstacle to man's direct approach to God? The answer lies in the Incarnation of God Himself. Christ's actions, as God-man, are both divine and human; so, by analogy, must be our faith. This necessarily cannot be merely natural, but neither should it be un-natural; the test of its genuineness is in its conformity

with man as a human—and therefore social—being : the individual's union with God can grow only according to the laws of human nature, which apply to *all* human beings, and which demand a certain form. A similar problem is treated more radically by M. J. Congar, O.P., who shows that there are not *two* Churches, one entirely spiritual and the other entirely human, but *one* divine-human organic reality which is the one Body of Christ. On the analogy of the soul, which is known only in and through the body, one may say that the Spirit of Christ is to be found only in His Body, the one, visible Church. Again, as the body is the soul's visible associate in all the *operations of life*, so the Church qua visible institution, is the organically associated instrument of the Church qua mystical body, forming with it the one reality of Christ's Mystical Body, whose members are born and nourished through the instrumentality of visible signs. Thus water conveys the baptism which incorporates man into Christ and His Heavenly City, and it is no accident that both Church and Eucharist are, and are called, "Body of Christ." This oneness of the Head and members in one Mystical Body has—and is—a Sacrifice. A. M. Roguet, O.P., quotes a number of passages to show that according to the Scriptures the end of the Sacrifice of the Cross was the creation of a "chosen people, a royal priesthood," called "*because* Christ has suffered for you." But not only does the Church, in offering the Sacrifice of the Mass, achieve unity. By our incorporation into Christ's Body, it is His Body—the Church which is the inseparable unity of Head and members—which is sacrificed in the Mass. Christ did not say, "I am the trunk, you the branches," but "I am the vine," which is both trunk and branches. Before Calvary, unredeemed mankind did not yet form a Mystical Body united and sacrificed with its Head : Jesus on the Cross was alone. Since Calvary, redeemed mankind is sacrificed in union with Jesus in the Mass which is offered according to His command "*in meam commemorationem*." The whole context of that first "pure oblation" of the Last Supper—the washing of the feet, the parable of the vine, the sacerdotal prayer—would be unintelligible but for the union of Head and members : for by this all men shall know Christ's disciples, if they have charity for one another : as He has loved them—and delivered Himself for them—that they may be one in Him as He is one with the Father : that the Spirit with which the Father loves the Son may be in them. . . .

Christ's desire that His fire—the charity which consumes error and unites—should enkindle the earth, is, to-day, being increasingly heeded. A splendid example is given by the

Dominicans of the Slavonic rite in Paris. Their adoption of the word "Istina" is no mere linguistic translation of their watch-word, "Veritas." Their centre of studies and reunion for Catholics and Orthodox is called "Istina" because the truth which they champion is really the *one* truth, rooted in the *one* charity of Christ. They have adopted the Slavonic rite not in order to destroy it, but in order to demonstrate to Catholics and Orthodox alike that unity is achieved by vital understanding, in which only error—not differences—must be corrected; so that, in the purifying flame of Christ's charity *all* nations may know the truth which shall make them free to serve Him as members of one another and of Him.

M.G.B.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Williams and Norgate : *The Wisdom of God*, Sergius Bulgakov..

Sands and Co. : *St. Augustine of Hippo*. Hugh Pope, O.P.

Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum (Rome), *La Mariologie de Saint Jean Damasène*. C. Chevalier, S.J.

Prieuré D'Amay-sur-Meuse (Belgique), *La Prière des Eglises de Rite Byzantin*. R. P. F. Mercenier et C. F. Paris.

Catalogue of the Central Catholic Library, Melbourne. (pp. 168. 1s. 352, Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia).

This Library, we read, was only started a few years ago, yet it now has 16,000 volumes and it sends out more than 1,000 copies a week, most of them on serious subjects, throughout Australia and beyond.

The catalogue does not include the fiction nor the juvenile sections but presents a goodly array of books covering almost every phase of Catholic thought and interest, and with very few exceptions all in English—would that we had such a selection in London!

Father W. P. Hackett, S.J., says in the foreword :—"We have not specialised in any one section, but we have tried to make each section rich, and in nearly every section we flatter ourselves that there are some very useful books that cannot easily be procured elsewhere." And he has succeeded.

Lino-Cut Christmas Cards. By Edward R. Westbrook. (St. Benet's, Westgate-on-Sea, Thanet).

The drawings really do illustrate the Scripture Texts placed next to them. This shows a penetration into the mystery of the Liturgy, and so speaks their worth.



By courtesy of Edward Bowron.

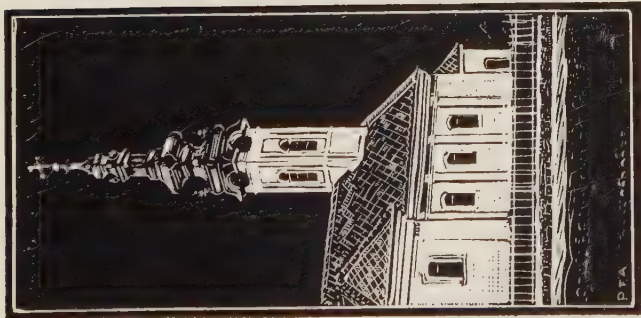
THE MOSAIC EIKON OF THE THEOKOTOS.

This is one of the special treasures of the Byzantine Museum in Athens. The eikon is of the fourteenth century. On a golden background the Blessed Virgin is represented half-length holding the Infant Jesus. It is of the Glykophilouse or Eleouse type, that is to say the Theokotos is represented as embracing the Holy Child. The faces are constructed in very fine and small cubes of a remarkable delicacy and variety of shade; the folds of the vestments are indicated by lines of gold. Both by reason of its technique and the calm majesty of its expression this eikon is an exceptionally fine example of the art at the time of the Paleologi.

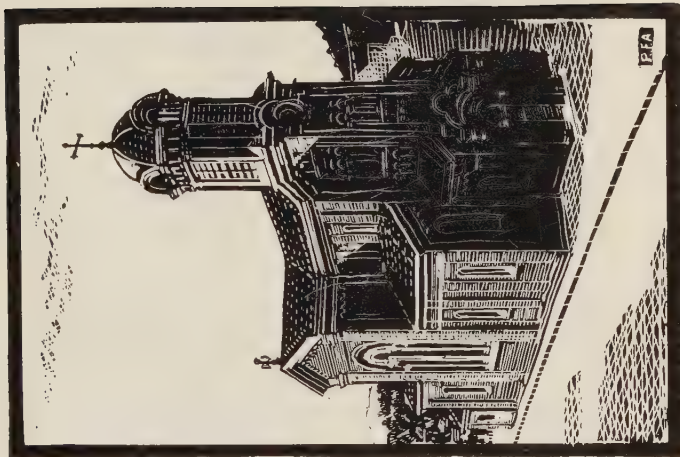
E.B.



Mgr. Cyril Kourtef, Administrator Apostolic of the Bulgarian Catholics of the Byzantine Rite, consecrated Bishop December 5th, 1926.



Byzantine Catholic Church of
St. Nicholas, Ruski Krtsur.



Church of the Ascension, Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

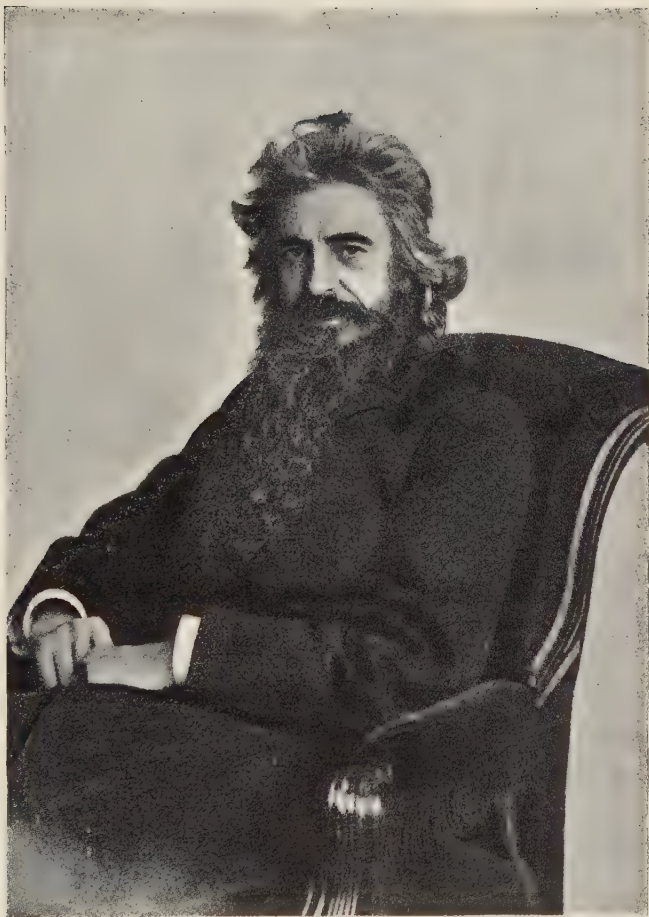


Group of Catholic clergy of the Byzantine Rite in retreat at Sophia. With them are Mgr. Mazzoli, Apostolic Delegate to Bulgaria, and Bishop Kourtef (without his *Kamelauktion*).



The Most Reverend Mgr. Andrew Szeptycky
Archbishop of Lwów and
Metropolitan of Halych

By courtesy of "PAX."

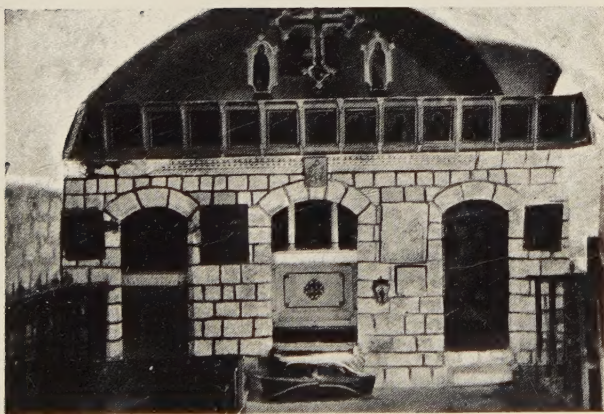


VLADIMIR SOLOVIEV.

By courtesy of Burns Oates and Washbourne.



HIS BEATITUDE, PATRIARCH VARNAVA OF SERBIA.



The Synagogue, which Our Lord attended at Nazareth,
now a Catholic Melkite Church.



A Group of the Russian Orthodox Community at Harbin, priests and nuns with
their Metropolitan and the Abbess Roufina.

